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THE METHOD OF TEACHING and STUDYING THE BELLES LETTRES,

OR,

An INTRODUCTION to LANGUAGES, POETRY, RHETORIC, HISTORY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICS, &c.

WITH

REFLECTIONS on TASTE, and INSTRUCTIONS with regard to the ELOQUENCE of the PULPIT, the BAR, and the STAGE.

The whole illustrated with PASSAGES from the most famous POETS and ORATORS, ancient and modern, with CRITICAL REMARKS on them.

Designed more particularly for STUDENTS in the UNIVERSITIES.

By MR. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

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BOOK THE THIRD.

OF RHETORIC.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH.

Of FIGURES.

FIGURES of Rhetoric are certain turns and modes of expreſſion, which differ a little from the common and plain way of ſpeaking, and are uſed to give more grace and force to the diſcourſe. They conſiſt either in the words or the thoughts. I compriſe in the former what the rhetoricians call tropes, though there may be ſome difference in them.

It is of great importance to make youth obſerve in reading good authors, the uſe which true eloquence makes of Figures; the aſſiſtance it draws from them, not only to pleaſe, but to perſuade and move the affections: and that, without them, expreſſion is weak, and falls into a kind of monotony, and is almoſt like a body without a ſoul. Quintilian gives a juſt idea of them by a very natural compariſon. [*a*] A ſtatue, ſays he, quite uniform, and of a piece from top to bottom, with the head ſtrait upon the ſhoulders, the arms hanging down, and the feet joined together, would have no gracefulneſs, and would ſeem to be without motion, and lifeleſs. It is the different attitudes of the feet, the hands, the countenance, and head, which being varied an infinite number of ways,

[*a*] Recti corporis vel minima gratia eſt. Neque enim adverſa ſit facies, & demiſſa brachia, & junctí pedes, & à ſummis ad ima rigens opus. Flexus ille, & ut ſic dixerim motus, dat actum quendam effictis. Ideo nec ad unum modum formatæ manus, & in vultu mille ſpecies. . . . Quam quidem gratiam & delectationem afferunt figuræ quæque in ſenſibus, quæque in verbis ſunt. Quint. l. 2. c. 13.

according to the diverſity of ſubjects, communicate a ſort of action and motion to the works of art, and give them, as it were, life and ſoul.

FIGURES *of* WORDS.

[*b*] The metaphor is a Figure which ſubſtitutes the figurative terms it borrows from other ſubjects, as it were by a kind of exchange, in the room of proper words, which are either wanting, or have not energy enough. Thus *gemma* was called the bud of the vine, there being no proper word to expreſs it: *incenſus irâ*, *inflammatus furore*, were uſed inſtead of *iratus*, *furens*, in order to paint the effect of thoſe paſſions the better. We ſee by this, that what was at firſt invented thro' neceſſity, from the defect or want of proper words, has ſince contributed towards embelliſhing ſpeech; much after the ſame manner as clothes were at firſt employed to cover the body, and defend it againſt the cold, and ſerved afterwards to adorn it. [*c*] Every metaphor therefore muſt either find a void in the place it is to fill up, or, at leaſt (in caſe it baniſhes a proper word) muſt have more force than the word to which it is ſubſtituted.

This is one of the Figures that gives moſt ornament, ſtrength, and grandeur to diſcourſe; and the reader may have obſerved, in the ſeveral paſſages I have cited, that the moſt exquiſite expreſſions are generally metaphorical, and derive all their merit from that figure. [*d*] Indeed, it has the peculiar advantage, according to Quintilian's obſervation, to ſhine

[*b*] Tertius ille modus transferrendi verbi latè patet, quem neceſſitas genuit inopiâ coacta primò & anguſtiis, poſt autem delectatio jucunditaſque celebravit. Nam ut veſtis frigoris depellendi cauſâ reperta primò, poſt adhiberi cœpta eſt ad ornatum etiam corporis & dignitatem: ſic verbi tranſlatio inſtituta eſt inopiæ cauſâ, frequentata delectationis. . . Ergo hæ tranſlationes quaſi mutationes ſunt, cùm, quod non habeas, aliunde ſumas. Iliæ paulo audaciores, quæ non inopiam indicant, ſed orationi ſplendoris aliquid accerſunt. 3. de Orat. n. 155, 156.

[*c*] Metaphora aut vacantem occupare locum debet; aut, ſi in alienum venit, plus valere eo quod expellit. Quint. l. 8. c. 6.

[*d*] Ita jucunda atque nitida, ut in oratione quamlibet clarâ, proprio tamen lumine eluceat. Ibid.

from

from its own light in the moſt celebrated pieces, and to diſtinguiſh itſelf moſt in them: it enriches a language in ſome meaſure, by an infinity of expreſſions, by ſubſtituting the figurative in the room of the ſimple or plain; it throws a great variety into the ſtyle; it raiſes and aggrandizes the moſt minute and common things; [e] it gives us great pleaſure by the ingenious boldneſs with which it ſtrikes out in queſt of foreign expreſſions, inſtead of the natural ones which are at hand; it deceives the mind agreeably, by ſhewing it one thing and meaning another. In fine, it gives a body, if we may ſay ſo, to the moſt ſpirited things, and makes them almoſt the objects of hearing and ſight by the ſenſible images it delineates to the imagination.

In order to give an idea of the force of metaphors, great care muſt be taken to begin always with explaining the plain and natural ſenſe, upon which the figurative is founded, and without which the latter could not be well underſtood.

The ſureſt, and likewiſe the eaſieſt way to repreſent the beauty of a metaphor, and, in general, to explain the beautiful paſſages in authors with juſtneſs, is to ſubſtitute natural expreſſions inſtead of the figurative, and to diveſt a very bright phraſe of all ornaments, by reducing it to a ſimple propoſition. This was Cicero's method; and what better method can we follow? He explains the force and energy of a metaphorical expreſſion in theſe verſes of an ancient poet.

Vive, Ulyſſes, dum licet:
Oculis poſtremum lumen radiatum rape.

He performs it thus: [f] *Non dixit* cape, *non* pete; *haberet enim moram ſperantis diutius eſſe ſeſe victurum*:

[e] In ſuorum verborum maxima copia, tamen homines aliena multo magis, ſi ſunt ratione tranſlata, delectant. Id accidere credo, vel quòd ingenii ſpecimen eſt quoddam, tranſilire ante pedes poſita, & alia longè repetita ſumere: vel quòd is, qui audit, alio ducitur cogitatione, neque tamen aberrat, quæ maxima eſt delectatio . . . vel quòd omnis tranſlatio, quæ quidem ſumpta ratione eſt, ad ſenſus ipſos admovetur, maximè oculorum, qui eſt ſenſus acerrimus. Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 159, 160.

[f] Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 162.

ſed rape. *Hoc verbum eſt ad id aptatum, quod antè dixerat, dum licet.* Horace uſes the ſame thought.

[*f*] Dona præſentis capæ lætus horæ.

An able interpreter aſſerts, that we muſt read *rape* inſtead of *cape*. I doubt whether he be in the right; for the man pourtrayed by Horace, is one who is free from all care and uneaſineſs; and by flattering himſelf with the hopes of a long life, enjoys peaceably the pleaſures which each day offers; and the word *cape* agrees very well with ſuch a condition; whereas in the ancient poet, Ulyſſes is exhorted to lay hold of the preſent moments, leſt they ſhould eſcape him, and he be deprived of them by a ſudden and unexpected death: *Poſtremum lumen radiatum rape.* Cicero employed a word like this full as gracefully: [*g*] *Quo quiſque eſt ſolertior & ingenioſior, hôc docet iracundiùs & laborioſiùs. Quod enim ipſe celeriter arripuit: id cùm tardè percipi videt, diſcruciatur.* "By how much the "more ingenious and ſkilful every man is, by ſo "much the more painfully does he teach others; "for what he himſelf has quickly caught up, he is tor-"tured at finding others ſo ſlow in perceiving." It is enough to obſerve, that he does not ſay, *facilè didicit*, but *celeriter arripuit:* the difference is very obvious.

When the metaphor is continued, and does not conſiſt in one word, it is called an *Allegory. Equidem cæteras tempeſtates & procellas in illis duntaxat fluctibus concionum ſemper Miloni putavi eſſe ſubeundas.* He might have ſaid plainly, *Equidem multa pericula in populi concionibus ſemper Miloni putavi eſſe ſubeunda.*

[*h*] *Remember the beginning and progreſs of the war, which, though but a ſpark in the beginning, now ſets all Europe in a flame.*

Thoſe clouds which ariſe from diſlike or ſuſpicion, never appeared in his ſerene countenance.

His virtues made him known to the public, and produced that firſt flower of reputation, which ſpreads an

[*f*] Ode 8. l. 3. [*g*] Pro Quint. Roſc. n. 31. [*h*] M. Flechier.

odour

odour [*i*] *more agreeable than perfumes, over every other part of a glorious life.*

[*k*] When we uſe this Figure, we muſt always obſerve to continue the ſimile, and not fall abruptly from one image to another; nor, for example, conclude with a conflagration, after we began with a ſtorm: Horace is charged with that error in this line:

Et malè tornatos incudi reddere verſus.

Where he joins two ideas widely different, the turning wheel, and the anvil. But ſome interpreters excuſe him. I know not whether Cicero may not be charged with the ſame fault in this paſſage of the ſecond book *de Oratore.* [*l*] *Ut cum in ſole ambulem, etiamſi ob aliam cauſam ambulem, fieri tamen naturâ ut colorer: ſic, cum iſtos libros ad Miſenum ſtudioſiùs legerim, ſentio orationem meam illorum quaſi cantu colorari.* "As when I walk "in the ſun, though my thoughts are otherways em- "ployed, yet is my colour changed by its rays; ſo "when I read with care, I find my ſtyle coloured, as "if by a charm." How can we reconcile theſe two words, *cantu* and *colorari?* and what relation can there be between *cantus* and a piece of writing?

The *periphraſis* or *circumlocution.* This Figure is ſometimes abſolutely neceſſary, as when we ſpeak of things which decency will not allow us to expreſs in their own names; [*m*] *ad requiſita naturæ.* 'Tis often uſed for ornament only, which is very common with poets; and ſometimes to expreſs a thing the more magnificently, which would otherwiſe appear very low and mean; or to cover or ſoften the harſhneſs of ſome propoſitions, which would be ſhocking, if ſhewn in a naked and ſimple dreſs.

[*i*] Melius eſt nomen bonum, quàm unguenta pretioſa. Eccleſ. vii. 2.

[*k*] Id imprimis eſt cuſtodiendum, ut quo ex genere cœperis tranſlationis, hoc deſinas. Multi enim cùm initium à tempeſtate ſumpſerunt, incendio aut ruinâ finiunt; quæ eſt inconſequentia rerum fœdiſſima. Quint. lib. 8. c. 6.

[*l*] Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 60.

[*m*] Salluſt.

1. *Of Ornament.*

[*n*] *The king, in order to give an immortal teſtimony of his eſteem and friendſhip for that great general* (M. de Turenne), *gives an illuſtrious place to his renowned aſhes, among thoſe lords of the earth, who ſtill preſerve, in the magnificence of their tombs, an image of that of their thrones*; inſtead of ſaying ſimply, *gives his aſhes a place in the tombs of the kings.*

[*o*] C'eſt-là ce qui l'emporte aux lieux où naît l'aurore,
Où le Perſe eſt brulé de l'aſtre qu'il adore.

Engliſhed.

" 'Tis this tranſports him to far diſtant climes,
" Where gay Aurora riſes, where the Perſian
" Is ſcorch'd by the bright planet he adores."

2. *To heighten low and common Thoughts.*

[*p*] *The eagle had already winged to the mountains to ſave herſelf, whoſe bold and rapid flight had at firſt terrified our provinces*; that is, the German army. *Thoſe brazen thunderbolts, which hell invented for the deſtruction of men, thundered on all ſides*; that is, the cannon.

3. *To ſoften harſh Expreſſions.*

Cicero finding himſelf obliged in his defence of Milo, to acknowledge that his ſlaves had killed Clodius, does not ſay, *interfecerunt, jugulârunt Clodium*; but, by making uſe of a circumlocution, he conceals the horror of this murder under an idea which could not offend the judges, but ſeemed rather to engage them: [*q*] *Fecerunt id ſervi Milonis (dicam enim non derivandi criminis cauſâ, ſed ut factum eſt) neque imperante, neque ſciente, neque præſente domino, quod ſuos quiſque ſervos in tali re facere voluiſſet.* " Milo's ſervants were " at length obliged to do (I only tell the thing as it " happened) without the knowledge, without the " commands of their maſter, even in his abſence,

[*n*] Maſcaron. [*o*] Deſpr. [*p*] Flech. [*q*] Pro. Mil. n. 29

" what

" what every man would wiſh his ſervants to do in " ſimilar circumſtances."

When Vibus Virius exhorted the ſenators of Capua to poiſon themſelves, to prevent their falling alive into the hands of the Romans, he deſcribes, by an elegant periphraſis, the misfortunes from which this draught would deliver them; and by this figure conceals from them the horror of death, inſtead of ſaying, the poiſon would procure them a ſudden one. [r] *Satiatis vino ciboque poculum idem, quod mihi datum fuerit, circumferetur. Ea potio corpus ab cruciatu, animum à contumeliis, oculos, aures, à videndis audiendiſque omnibus acerbis indigniſque quæ manent victos, vindicabit.* " When we have been ſatisfied with the de- " lights of the table, that cup of which I myſelf will " drink, ſhall be brought to you. A draught like " this, will free the body from torments, the mind " from indignities, the eyes and ears from hearing " or ſeeing all the miſeries that fall to the lot of the " conquered."

Though Manlius knew very well how odious the bare name of a king was to the Romans, and how likely to ſpirit them up to rebellion, he endeavoured nevertheleſs to prevail with them to give him that title. He did it very dextrouſly, by contenting himſelf with the title of protector; but inſinuating, at the ſame time, that that of king, which he was very careful not to name, would enable him to do them greater ſervice. [s] *Ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi cura mea & fides nomen induit. Vos, ſi quo inſigni magis imperii honoriſve nomine veſtrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini potentiore ad obtinenda eo que vultis.* " I confeſs myſelf the patron of the commons; this " is a title that my care and fidelity have gained me. " But you, my countrymen, if you are willing to ho- " nour your general with any higher title, uſe it in " order to increaſe the proſperity of your affairs."

[r] Liv. lib. 26. n. 13. [s] Liv. lib. 6. n. 18.

Some have juſtly taken notice of [t] certain turns, which the ancients employed to ſoften harſh and ſhocking propoſitions. When Themiſtocles ſaw Xerxes approaching with a formidable army, he adviſed the Athenians to quit their city; but he did it in the ſofteſt terms, and exhorted them to commit it to the care of the gods. *Ut urbem apud deos deponerent: quia durum erat dicere, ut relinquerent.* Another was of opinion they ſhould melt down the golden ſtatues raiſed to *Victory*, to anſwer the exigencies of war. He uſed a turn of expreſſion, and told them it was neceſſary to make uſe of victories. *Et qui Victorias aureas in uſum belli conflari volebat, ita declinavit, victoriis utendum eſſe.*

Repetition is a pretty common Figure, which has different names, becauſe there are various kinds of it. 'Tis very proper to expreſs lively and violent paſſions, ſuch as anger and grief for example, which are ſtrongly employed on the ſame object, and ſee no other; and therefore often repeat the terms which repreſent it. Thus Virgil paints Orpheus's grief after the death of Eurydice.

[u] TE, dulcis conjux; TE ſolo in littore ſecum
TE veniente die, TE decedente canebat.

[x] Pliny the younger uſes the ſame Figures in bewailing the death of Virginius, who had been his tutor, and whom he conſidered as his father. *Volui tibi multa alia ſcribere; ſed totus animus in hac una contemplatione defixus eſt. Virginium cogito, Virginium video, Virginium jam vanis imaginibus, recentibus tamen, audio, alloquor, teneo.* "I intended writing to you upon "many things elſe, but all my mind is employed up- "on this alone. I ſee my Virginius; I think my Vir- "ginius in every vain image called up by fancy; I "converſe with him, I hear him, I hold him."

[y] Cicero furniſhes us with a prodigious number of examples, *Bona, miſerum me! (conſumptis enim lacry-*

[t] Celebrata apud Græcos ſchemata, per quæ res aſperas molliùs ſignificant. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

[u] Lib. 4. Georg. ver. 465.
[x] Lib. 2. Ep. 1.
[y] 2 Philip. n. 64.

mis

mis tamen infixus animo hæret dolor) *bona, inquam, Cn. Pompeii acerbiſſimæ voci ſubjecta præconis.* " All the " goods, (though my tears are exhauſted, yet my " grief remains) all the goods of Pompey were ſet " up to be ſold by a brawling auctioneer." [z] *Vivis, & vivis non ad deponendam, ſed ad confirmandam audaciam.* " You live, but live, not to lay down, but " to confirm your audaciouſneſs." [a] *Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Meſſanæ civis Romanus, judices. . . . Cum ille imploraret ſæpius uſurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux, inquam, infelici & ærumnoſo, qui nunquam iſtam poteſtatem viderat, comparabatur.* " A Roman " citizen, O my judges, was whipped with rods in " the forum of Meſſana. Tho' he often implored, " and boaſted of the name of a Roman citizen, the " croſs, even the croſs, was prepared for him."

This Figure is likewiſe vaſtly proper for inſiſting ſtrongly on any proof, or any truth. [b] The elder Pliny would make us ſenſible of the folly of men, who give themſelves ſo much trouble to ſecure an eſtabliſhment in this world; and often take arms againſt one another, to extend a little the boundaries of their dominions. After repreſenting the whole earth as a ſmall point, and almoſt indiviſible in compariſon of the univerſe: 'Tis here, ſays he, we are endeavouring to eſtabliſh and enrich ourſelves; 'tis here we would govern and be ſovereigns; 'tis this that agitates mankind with frequent violence: this is the object of our ambition, the ſubject of our diſputes, the cauſe of ſo many bloody wars, even among fellow-citizens and brothers. *Hæc eſt materia gloriæ noſtræ, hæc ſedes: hîc honores gerimus, hîc exercemus imperia, hîc opes cupimus, hîc tumultuatur humanum genus: hîc inſtauramus bella etiam civilia, mutuiſque cædibus laxiorem facimus terram.* All the vivacity of this paſſage conſiſts in the repetition, which ſeems in every member or part to exhibit this little ſpot of earth, for which men torment themſelves ſo far as to fight and kill one another, in order to get ſome little portion of it; and at

[z] 1 Catil. n. 1. [a] 7 Verr. n. 161. [b] Lib. 2. c. 58.

laſt,

laſt, what ſhare have they of it after death? *Quota terrarum parte gaudeat? vel, cum ad menſuram ſuæ avaritiæ propagaverit, quam tandem portionem ejus defunctus obtineat!*

[*c*] Rompez, rompez tout pacte avec l'impieté...
Daigne, daigne, mon Dieu, ſur Mathan & ſur elle
Répandre cet eſprit d'imprudence & d'erreur,
De la chûte des rois funeſte avant-coureur...
Dieu des Juifs, tu l'emportes!...
David, David triomphe. Achab ſeul eſt détruit...

Engliſhed.

" Your leagues with impious men diſſolve, diſſolve...
" Deign, deign, my God, on Mathan and on her
" To ſhed the ſpirit of imprudent error,
" Fatal forerunner of the fall of kings...
" God of the Jews, 'tis thou who doſt prevail!
" Great David triumphs. Ahab only dies...."

[*d*] L'argent, l'argent, dit-on: ſans lui tout eſt ſtérile.
La vertu ſans l'argent n'eſt qu'un meuble inutile.
L'argent en honnête homme érige un ſcelerat.
L'argent ſeul au palais peut faire un magiſtrat.

" 'Tis money, money: this alone is merit.
" Without it, virtue is an uſeleſs toy.
" Money proclaims the knave a man of honour.
" Money, alone, can make a dunce a judge."

[*e*] Quel carnage de touts parts!
On égorge à la fois les enfans, les vieillards;
Et la ſœur, & le frere;
Et la fille, & la mere;
Le fils dans les bras de ſon pere.

Engliſhed.

What ſlaughter's all around us!
The murd'ring ſword kills antient men and children,
The ſiſter and the brother,
The daughter and the mother;
The ſon too, claſp'd in his fond father's arms.

[*c*] Racine. [*d*] Deſpreaux. [*e*] Racine.

To

To take away the repetition from all these passages, is in reality to divest them of all their beauty, to weaken all their strength, and deprive the passions of the language natural to them.

The Antithesis, and such like Figures.

Antitheses, when artfully employed, says Father Bouhours, are extremely pleasing in works of genius. They have pretty near the same effect in these, that lights and shadows have in painting, when the painter has the art of distributing them judiciously; or that the trebles or basses have in music, which an able master knows how to blend together. [*f*] *Vicit pudorem libido, timorem audacia, rationem amentia . . .* [*g*] *Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit. . . .* [*h*] *Christian generals must be tender and charitable even when their hands are bloody; and inwardly adore the Creator, when they find themselves reduced to the melancholy necessity of destroying his creatures.*

There are other Figures which consist chiefly in a certain disposition and relation between words, which, being disposed with art, propriety, and symmetry, as it were, in a particular order, correspond with one another; and sooth the ear and mind agreeably, by this kind of regular and studied harmony.

[*i*] Cicero did not neglect that ornament of speech, which some of the antients, as Isocrates, were vastly fond of; and he has shewed the use we ought to make of these Figures, by employing them seldom, and with moderation; and being always careful to heighten them by the force and justness of the thoughts, without which they would have very little merit.

[*k*] *Est enim hæc, judices, non scripta, sed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsâ arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam non docti,*

[*f*] Pro Cluent. n. 15.
[*g*] Pro Mur. n. 76.
[*h*] Flechier.
[*i*] Delectatus est his etiam M. Tullius; verum & modum adhibuit non ingratæ, nisi copiâ redundet, voluptati; & rem alioqui levem, sententiarum pondere implevit. Quint. l. 9. c. 1.
[*k*] Pro Mil. n. 10.

sed

ſed factí, non inſtituti, ſed imbuti ſumus: ut, ſi vita noſtra in aliquias inſidias, ſi in vim, ſi in tela aut latronum aut inimicorum incidiſſet, omnis honeſta ratio eſſet expediendæ ſalutis. " For my judges, there is a law not written " to man, but born with him. A law which we have " not learned nor read, but ſeized upon, enjoyed " from nature; a law which we have not been taught, " but formed to; not inſtituted in, but tinctured " with; namely, that if our lives are ſought by any " kinds of treachery, we have a right by every ho- " nourable means to repel the injury."

[*l*] Seneca is full of theſe Figures: *Magnus eſt ille qui fictilibus ſic utitur, quemadmodum argento: nec ille minor eſt, qui ſic argento utitur, quemadmodum fictilibus. Infirmi animi eſt, pati non poſſe divitias.* " He " may be called a truly great man who uſes veſ- " ſels of earthen ware, ſo as if they were ſilver; nor " is he leſs, who employs ſilver as if it were earthen " ware. It argues a weak mind not to be able to " ſuffer riches." [*m*] *Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes adminiſtras, tam abſtinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religioſè quam publicas. In officio amorem conſequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile eſt.* " You indeed, adminiſter the buſineſs of the whole " world with frugality, as if they belonged to ano- " ther; with diligence, as if they were your own; " religiouſly, as if they wholly belonged to the pub- " lic. You gain love in office, in which it is no eaſy " matter to avoid hatred."

[*n*] *A man great in adverſity by his courage, and in good fortune by his modeſty, in difficulties by his prudence, in danger by his valour, and in religion by his piety.*

He only changed virtues, when fortune changed her countenance; happy without pride, unhappy with dignity.

In his youth he had all the prudence of advanced age, and in an advanced age, all the vigour of youth.

[*l*] Senec. Ep. 5. [*m*] De Brev. vitæ, c. 18. [*n*] Flechier.

[*o*] *We*

[o] *We eaſily image to ourſelves the ardour and perſeverance with which a man of genius applies himſelf to any ſtudy which is his chief pleaſure; and a man of virtue, who makes it an eſſential duty.*

He poſſeſſed that innocence and ſimplicity of manners, which we generally preſerve when we converſe leſs with men than with books; and he had nothing of that ſeverity or ſavage pride with which the commerce of books, without that of men, is too apt to inſpire.

[p] *One alone is ſmitten, and all are delivered. God ſmites his innocent Son for the ſake of guilty men; and pardons guilty men for the ſake of his innocent Son.*

All theſe thoughts are very juſt and beautiful in themſelves; but it muſt be owned, that the turn and manner in which they are expreſſed, make them much more graceful. In order to make us more ſenſible of this, we need only reduce them to a plain and vulgar way of ſpeaking. This I will endeavour to diſplay in the two beautiful paſſages of Cicero, where the diſpoſition of words, of which we are ſpeaking, appears in a peculiar manner.

When that great orator, pleading for Ligarius, had told Cæſar, that princes reſemble the gods in nothing more than in doing good to men; he might have barely ſaid, that his fortune and kind diſpoſition procured him that glorious advantage: this is the foundation of the thought: but Cicero expreſſes it in a much more noble and elegant manner, by obſerving ſeparately, by a kind of diſtribution, what he owes to fortune, and what ſhould be aſcribed to his natural inclination. The one gives him the power of doing good, the other the will; and it is in this that the greatneſs of his fortune, and the excellency of his good nature conſiſt. [q] *Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quam ut poſſis, nec natura tua melius quam ut velis, conſervare quamplurimos.* All the words here correſpond with a ſurpriſing exactneſs. *Fortuna, natura: majus, melius: poſſis, velis.* Is it poſſible to ſay more in fewer words, or with more beauty?

[o] Fonten. [p] Boſſuet. [q] Pro Lig. n. 38.

The

The elogium of Roſcius the comedian is in the ſame taſte. [s] *Etenim cum artifex ejuſmodi ſit* (Q. Roſcius,) *ut ſolus dignus videatur eſſe qui ſcenam introeat; tum vir ejuſmodi eſt, ut ſolus videatur dignus qui eò non accedat.* Cicero makes a noble encomium upon the ſame Roſcius, in another place, which may likewiſe teach us how the ſame thought may be turned different ways. [t] *Qui medius fidius* (*audacter dico*) *plus fidei quam artis, plus veritatis quam diſciplinæ poſſidet in ſe: quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam hiſtorionem eſſe arbitratur: qui ita digniſſimus eſt ſcenâ propter artificium, ut digniſſimus ſit curiâ propter abſtinentiam.* "Who "by all that's credible (I ſpeak it with confidence) "poſſeſſes more faithfulneſs than art; more truth than "diſcipline. He is thought by every Roman a bet- "ter man than he is a player; and is ſo far above all, "as to be worthy of the ſtage for his ſkill, and of "the ſenate for his temperance." This double encomium is reduced to this, that Roſcius has more of the honeſt man than the excellent comedian. In how many ſhapes is this thought repreſented to us? Can we imagine any thing has more delicacy than the firſt turn which Cicero gives it? "Roſcius is ſo excellent "an actor, that he alone ſeems worthy of mounting "the ſtage; but, on the other hand, he is a man of ſo "much virtue, that he alone ſeems worthy of never "appearing upon it." The ſecond encomium is as delicate as the former. The laſt member would prehaps have been more graceful, if a word that ends like *abſtinentiam*, had been ſubſtituted inſtead of *artificium*. For one of the principal beauties of the Figures we are here treating of, and which conſiſts in a ſtudied and meaſured order, is, that the words ſhould not only anſwer one another in ſenſe, but likewiſe in ſound and cadence. *Ita digniſſimus eſt ſcenâ propter artis peritiam, ut digniſſimus ſit curiâ propter abſtinentiam.* But Cicero choſe to renounce that minute elegance, rather than enervate the beauty of the ſenſe, by an expreſſion not ſo proper; and he gives us an opportu-

[s] Pro Quint. Roſc. n. 78. [t] Pro Quint. Roſc. com. n. 17.

nity

nity of adding in this place some reflections of Quintilian, on the use that is to be made of such Figures.

[u] Since they consist wholly in certain turns, and a certain disposition of words, and that these must be employed only to express the thoughts; it would be manifestly absurd to apply ourselves entirely to those turns and to that disposition of words, and at the same time neglect the very foundation both of thoughts and of things. But how just soever we may suppose these Figures to be, they must however be used sparingly; for the more artful and studied they appear, the more evident is the affectation, and consequently the more faulty. [x] To conclude, the nature of the things we treat of must be susceptible of this kind of ornaments. For when it is proposed, for instance, to affect and melt the auditors, to terrify them by a view of the evils which threaten them, to raise a just indignation in them against vice, to employ earnest intreaties; would not an orator be ridiculous, should he attempt to effect this by regular periods, antitheses, and such like Figures, which are proper only to distinguish the passions, and to expose the vanity of an orator solely intent upon himself, and the care of displaying his wit at a time when he should have no thoughts but to draw tears from his auditors, and fill them with the sentiments of fear, anger or grief, necessary to his purpose?

Figures of Allusion.

I must not conclude this article, which relates to the Figures of words, without saying something of

[u] Sunt qui neglecto rerum pondere, & viribus sententiarum, si vel inania verba in hos modos depravârint, summos se judicent artifices, ideoque non desinunt eas nectere: quas sine sententiâ sectari tam est ridiculum, quam quærere habitum gestumque sine corpore. Quint. l. 9. c. 3.

Sed ne hæ quidem densandæ sunt nimis. Ibid.

[x] Sciendum imprimis quid quisque in orando postulet locus: quid persona, quid tempus. . . Ubi enim atrocitate, invidiâ, miseratione pugnandum est, quis ferat contrapositis, & pariter cadentibus, & consimilibus, irascentem, flentem, rogantem? cum in his rebus cura verborum deroget affectibus fidem, & ubicumque ars ostentatur, veritas abesse videatur. Ibid.

those

thoſe that conſiſt in an affected reſemblance, and a kind of a play of words. *Amari jucundum eſt, ſi curetur ne quid inſit amari. Avium dulcedo ad avium ducit. Ex oratore arator factus.* [*y*] The bare name of Verres, which in Latin ſignifies a boar, gave riſe to a great many alluſions. *Hinc illi homines erant, qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore: quorum alii, ut audîſtis, negabant mirandum eſſe,* jus tam nequam eſſe Verrinum: *alii etiam frigidiores erant, ſed quia ſtomachabantur, ridiculi videbantur eſſe, cum* ſacerdotem *exſecrabantur, qui* Verrem tam nequam *reliquiſſet* (the prætor of Sicily whom Verres ſucceeded, was called *Sacerdos.*) *Quæ ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacetè dicta, neque porrò hac ſeveritate digna ſunt,) niſi, &c.* [*z*] *Ex nomine iſtius quid in provincia facturus eſſet perridiculi homines augurabantur . . . ad* everrendam *provinciam venerat.* [*a*] *Quod unquam, judices, hujuſmodi* everriculum *ullâ in provinciâ fuit?* At the ſame time that Cicero mentions theſe puns, which it is impoſſible to tranſlate, he informs us how flat and puerile he found them; by which he teaches youth what judgment they are to form of them, and warns againſt a vicious taſte, which young people are but too apt to give into, who imagine that there is ſome wit in this kind of Figures.

But we muſt not, however, condemn alluſions in general, ſome being really ingenious, and giving a grace to a diſcourſe; and they muſt appear ſuch, when they are judicious, and founded on a ſolid thought, and a natural reſemblance. Cicero had related the equitable and diſintereſted conduct of Verres in a certain affair; and adds the following reflection. [*b*] *Eſt adhuc id quod vos omnes admirari video, non Verres, ſed Q. Mucius. Quid enim facere potuit elegantius ad hominum exiſtimationem? æquius ad levandam mulieris calamitatem? vehementius ad quæſtoris libidinem coercendam? Summè hæc omnia mihi videntur eſſe laudanda. Sed repentè è veſtigio* ex homine, *tanquam aliquo*

[*y*] Verr. 3. n. 2.
[*z*] Verr. 4. n. 18, 19.
[*a*] Verr. 6. n. 53.
[*b*] Verr. 1. n. 57.

Circæo poculo, factus eſt Verres, *Redit ad ſe, ad mores ſuos. Nam ex illa pecunia magnam partem ad ſe vertit : mulieri reddit quantulum viſum eſt.* Methinks this alluſion, which is founded on what fiction relates of Circe, who by certain draughts changed men into boars or ſwine (which Verres ſignifies in Latin) is happily and very naturally uſed in this place.

[*c*] It appeared by Cicero's examination of the journals of a certain trader in Sicily, that the laſt five letters of this word *Verrutius*, which were frequently mentioned in thoſe journals, were always obliterated, and that the four firſt only remained, *Verr.* This was a fictitious name under which Verres concealed himſelf, to carry on an abominable uſury. Cicero produced thoſe journals on the trial ; [*d*] *ut omnes mortales*, ſays he, *iſtius avaritiæ non jam veſtigia, ſed ipſa cubilia videre poſſint.* [*e*] *Videtis Verrutium ? videtis primas literas integras ? videtis extremam partem nominis, caudam illam Verris, tanquam in luto, demerſam eſſe in liturâ ?* Can any one condemn ſuch a play of words, eſpecially on an occaſion where the orator thought it was neceſſary to divert the judges, and at the ſame time intended to make Verres ridiculous and contemptible ?

Sometimes the reſemblance between words, or the bare changing a prepoſition, or the ſame word uſed in various ſignifications, produces a kind of beauty not to be deſpiſed. [*f*] *Hanc reipublicæ peſtem pauliſper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi poſſe . . .* [*g*] *non emiſſus ex urbe, ſed inmiſſus in urbem eſſe videatur. . .* [*h*] *Civis bonarum artium, bonarum partium.* One of the ancients ſaid of a ſlave that pilfered in the houſe, that every thing was open to him : [*i*] *ſolum eſſe cui domi nihil ſit nec obſignatum, nec occluſum :* which might likewiſe be ſaid of a faithful ſervant in whom we repoſe an entire confidence.

[*c*] Verr. 4. n. 186, &c.
[*d*] Ver. 4. n. 190.
[*e*] N. 191.
[*f*] 1. Catil. n. 30.
[*g*] N. 7.
[*h*] Pro Cœl. n. 77.
[*i*] 2. de Orat. n. 248.

Figures with regard to Thoughts.

I ſhall only mention ſome of the moſt remarkable among theſe.

The interrogation, apoſtrophe, and exclamation, are very common Figures; and yet may render diſcourſe more efficacious, lively, and affecting.

[*k*] *Uſque adeone mori miſerum eſt?* "Is death then ſo "great a calamity?" With this tone of voice a man ſpeaks, who is going to battle; whereas an old man, who is ſick, and near death, would ſay coldly: *non eſt uſque adeo miſerum mori.*

Æneas ſays, that, if a certain event had been regarded, Troy would have not been taken.

[*l*] Trojaque, nunc ſtares: Priamique arx alta, maneres.

"Troy, thou hadſt ſtood, and Priam's power remain'd."

This apoſtrophe makes us feel the great love a good citizen bears to his country. Change a letter, *ſtaret*, *maneret*, and the ſentiment is gone.

Thus Cicero concludes the narrative he made of the puniſhment of a Roman citizen: [*m*] *O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium noſtræ civitatis! O lex Porcia, legeſque Semproniæ! O graviter deſiderata, & aliquando reddita plebi Romanæ, tribunitia poteſtas! Huccine tandem omnia reciderunt, ut civis R. in provinciâ populi R. in oppido fœderatorum, ab eo qui beneficio populi R. faſces & ſecures haberet, deligatus in foro virgis cæderetur?* "O thou lovely ſound of liberty! O thou "juſtice of my country! O ye Portian and Sem-"pronian laws! O thou tribunitial power, often "wiſhed for and ſometimes obtained, have ye all "come to this, that a Roman citizen, in a Roman "province, in a confederate town, among a people "that owe their honour and their liberty to Rome,

[*k*] Æn. l. 12. v. 646.
[*l*] Æn. l. 2. v. 56.
[*m*] Verr. 7. n. 161, 162.

"ſhould

" ſhould be beaten with rods in the public forum ?" Theſe are the juſt expreſſions of grief and indignation.

Cicero joins and unites the greateſt part of theſe Figures, and adds others to them, in a very lively paſſage. [n] *Quia enim, Tubero, tuus ille diſtrictus in acie Pharſalicâ gladius agebat ? cujus latus ille mucro petebat ? qui ſenſus erat armorum tuorum ? quæ tua mens ? oculi ? manus, ardor animi ? quid cupiebas ? quid optabas ?* " What, Tubero, was thy ſword employed upon " at the battle of Pharſalia ? Whoſe was the ſide it " pierced ? who felt the weight of your arms ? on " whom was thy mind, thy hands, thy eyes employ- " ed ? What were your deſires, what your wiſhes ?" All this is only to declare, that Tubero was preſent at the battle of Pharſalia, and had fought againſt Cæſar. But what ſtrength does this thought receive from ſo many and ſuch lively Figures, crouded one upon the other ? Do not they ſeem to inſinuate, that Tubero's ſword fought every where for Cæſar ? For Cicero had ſaid immediately before, *contra ipſum Cæſarem eſt congreſſus armatus.*

" [o] O princeſs ! whoſe deſtiny is ſo great and " glorious, muſt you be born in the dominions of " thoſe who are the enemies of your houſe ? O eter- " nal God, watch over her ! Holy angels, draw your " inviſible ſquadrons round her, and guard the cra- " dle of ſo great, ſo hapleſs a princeſs !

" [p] Ye gloomy retreats, where ſhame obliges " poverty to ſhroud herſelf, how often has ſhe made " her conſolation and her charity flow even to you ; " ſhe, who was ſo ſtrongly affected with your wants " and afflictions, and more induſtrious to conceal her " beneficence, than you were to hide your miſery ?"

[q] O fortuné ſejour ! O champs aimés des cieux !
Que pour jamais foulant vos prés delicieux,
Ne puis-je ici fixer ma courſe vagabonde,
Et, connu de vous ſeul, oublier tout le monde ?

[n] Pro Ligar. n. 9.
[o] Boſſuet.
[p] Flechier.
[q] Deſpreaux.

Engliſhed.

" O charming ſpot! O fields belov'd by heaven!
" Why cannot I here fix my roving ſteps,
" Wander for ever in your winding ſhades,
" And, known to you alone, forget the world?"

[r] O rives du Jourdain! O champs aimés des cieux!
Sacrés monts, fertiles valées
Par cent miracles ſignalées!
Du doux pays de nos ayeux
Serons nous toujours exilées?

Engliſhed.

" O banks of Jordan! fields belov'd by heav'n!
" Sacred mountains, fruitful vallies
" By miracles immortal made!
" Muſt we for ever be exil'd
" From the delicious country of our fathers?"

Abner having complained, that no more miracles were ſeen; Joab, full of an holy indignation, anſwers him thus:

Et quel tems fut jamais ſi fertile en miracles?
Quand Dieu par plus d'effets montra-t-il ſon pouvoir?
Auras-tu donc toujours des yeux pour ne point voir,
Peuple ingrat? Quoi toujours les plus grandes merveilles,
Sans ébranler ton cœur, fraperont tes oreilles?

Engliſhed.

" What age in miracles ſo much abounded?
" When e'er did God ſo bright his power diſplay?
" O wilt thou ſtill have eyes, and yet not ſee,
" Ungrateful people? ſtill ſhall mighty wonders
" Strike ſtrong thine ear, yet not affect thy heart?"

The proſopopœia is a figure that communicates action and motion to inanimate things; makes perſons ſpeak, whether preſent or abſent, and ſometimes even the dead.

[r] Racine.

It is uſual with the poets to give indignation and admiration to rivers, trees; ſadneſs to beaſts, &c.

[*s*] Atque indignatum magnis ſtridoribus æquor.
Pontem indignatus Araxes.
Miraturque novas frondes, & non ſua poma.
It triſtis arator,
Mœrentem abjungens fraterna morte juvencum.

[*t*] Sous de fougueux courſiers l'onde écume, & ſe plaint . . .
J'entens déja frémir les deux mers étonnées
De voir leurs flots unis au pié de Pyrenées.

Engliſhed.

" Beneath the fiery courſers ocean foams,
" And vents his plaints . . .
" I hear, already, the two ſeas, amaz'd,
" Tremble for fear, to ſee their waves united,
" Under the Pyrenean mountains."

The elder Pliny often paints his deſcriptions in almoſt as ſtrong colours as a poet would do. He deſcribes wonderfully, in a very few words, the grief and ſhame of a peacock, which having loſt its tail, ſought only to hide itſelf. [*u*] *Caudâ amiſſâ pudibundus ac mœrens quærit latebram.* In another place he gives a ſenſation of joy to the earth, which antiently had ſeen itſelf cultivated by victorious generals, and broken up with a plough-ſhare adorned with laurels: [*x*] *Gaudente terrâ vomere laureato, & triumphali aratore.* He ſays therefore, that the houſes where the ſtatues of heroes nobly deſcended were ranged in order, ſtill triumphed, as it were, after they had changed their maſters; and that the walls reproached a coward who dwelt in them, with daily entering a place made ſacred by the monuments of the virtue and glory of others. [*y*] *Triumphabant etiam dominis mutatis ipſæ domus; & erat hæc ſtimulatio ingens, exprobrantibus tectis quotidie*

[*s*] Virgil.
[*t*] Deſpreaux.
[*u*] Lib. 10. c. 20.
[*x*] Lib. 18. c. 3.
[*y*] Lib. 35. c. 2.

imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum. This passage was translated by Father Bohours, who, being unable in French to express the ingenious brevity of the last thought, *intrare in alienum triumphum*, employed another turn, which indeed is very beautiful, but longer, and consequently not so lively.

Cicero employs the same thought, but extends it, as an orator should do: it is when he speaks of the palace of Pompey the great, which Antony had seized.

He asks the latter, if he thought he was entering his own house, when he entered this porch adorned with the spoils of the enemies, and the prows of the ships taken from them. He afterwards uses the Figure we are now speaking of, and says, he pities the very roofs and walls of that unfortunate house, which had neither seen nor heard any thing but what was wise and honourable, when Pompey dwelt under them; but was now become an obscure retreat for Antony's debaucheries: [z] *An tu illa in vestibulo rostra, & hostium spolia cùm aspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es; tamen & te, & tua, & tuos nôsti. . . . Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum. Quid enim unquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, nisi ex optimo more & sanctissimâ disciplinâ? . . . Nunc in hujus sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro triclinîis popinæ sunt.*

This Figure, which gives life, as it were, to inanimate things, adds a prodigious grace and vivacity to orations. When Cicero was pleading for Milo, he observed, that the law of the twelve tables allowed the slaying of a robber in some cases; whence he draws this conclusion: [a] *Quis est qui, quoquo modo quis interfectus sit, puniendum putet, cum videat aliquando gladium nobis ad occidendum hominem ab ipsis porrigi legibus?* He might have said barely, *cùm videat licere nobis aliquando per leges hominem occidere.* But instead of that, he transforms the laws into persons, as it were, and represents them as running to the assistance of a man attacked by robbers, and putting a sword

[z] 2. Philip. n. 68, 69. [a] Pro Mil. n. 9.

into

into his hand to defend himself. He again employs the same Figure some lines after: [*b*] *Silent enim leges inter arma, nec se expectari jubent: cum ei, qui expectare velit, ante injusta pœna luenda sit, quam justa repetenda.* "The laws are silent in camps and tumults, nor are "they to be waited for; he that would wait for them, "will suffer an unjust punishment before he can claim "their just protection."

"[*c*] At these cries Jerusalem shed a flood of tears, "the arches of the temple shook, the river Jordan "was troubled, and all its rivulets echoed the sound "of these mournful words: What! is this powerful "man, who saved the people of Israel, dead?

"'Tis well known, that victory is naturally cruel, "insolent, and impious; but M. Turenne made her "gentle, rational, and religious.

"Ever since justice has groaned beneath the "weight of laws, and knotty formalities, and that to "ruin one another with chicane, became a trade, "kings were not able to support the fatigue of pre-"siding over them.

"Has not her beauty been always guarded by the "most scrupulous virtue?

"[*d*] I will not relate the too happy success of his "enterprises, nor his famous victories, which virtue "was ashamed of; nor that long series of prosperity "which has astonished the whole world.

"[*e*] Reason guides a man to an entire conviction "of the historical proofs of the Christian religion; "after which it delivers and abandons him to another "light, which, though not contrary, is yet entirely "different from, and infinitely superior to it."

There is another kind of prosopopœia, still more lively, and bolder than the first. 'Tis when we address ourselves to inanimate things, or make them speak; or when, instead of relating indirectly the discourses of those in question, we make them deliver

[*b*] N. 10.
[*c*] Flechier.
[*d*] Bossuet speaking of Cromwel.
[*e*] Fonten.

theſe diſcourſes; or, laſtly, when we even give ſpeech to the dead.

1. *To addreſs inanimate things.*

After Cicero had given a deſcription of Clodius's death, and aſcribed it to a particular providence, he ſays, even religion, and the altars of the gods, were affected with it; and afterwards addreſſes his diſcourſe to them thus: [*f*] *Religiones mehercule ipſæ, aræque, cùm illam belluam cadere viderunt, commoviſſe ſe videntur, & jus in illo ſuum retinuiſſe. Vos enim, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque obteſtor, voſque, Albanorum obrutæ aræ, &c.* "Our religion, our very "altars ſeemed moved, when that ſavage was ſlain, "and ſeemed to claim their revenge. For you, ye "Albanian altars and groves, you, I ſay, it is you "and your overturned altars that I implore," &c.

"[*g*] Had it not been for this peace, Flanders! "thou bloody theatre, where ſo many tragic ſcenes "are exhibited, thou wouldſt have increaſed the "number of our provinces; and, inſtead of being "the unhappy ſource of our wars, thou wouldſt now "be the peaceable fruit of our victories.

"[*h*] Sword of the Lord, what a dreadful ſtroke "is this!"

2. *To give ſpeech to things inanimate.*

[*i*] Cicero introduces the country, in one of his invectives againſt Catiline, and makes it ſometimes addreſs Catiline, and ſometimes himſelf. Appius likewiſe, in his beautiful ſpeech for continuing the ſiege of Veii, introduces the commonwealth declaring to the ſoldiers, that, ſince ſhe pays them for the whole year, they ought to ſerve her for that time. [*k*] *An ſi ad calculos eum reſpublica vocet, non meritò dicat: Annua æra habes, annuam operam ede? An tu æquum cenſes*

[*f*] Pro Mil. n. 85.
[*g*] Flechier.
[*h*] Boſſuet.
[*i*] 1. Catil. n. 18, & 27.
[*k*] Liv. l. 5. n. 4.

militiâ

militiâ ſemeſtri ſolidum te ſtipendium accipere? " If the " country ſhould come to account with him, might " it not juſtly ſay, you are paid by the year; then " why not work by the year? Do you think it juſt " for half labour to receive full pay?"

3. Speeches put into the mouths of the perſons themſelves, have quite another effect than if they were barely related; and are very well adapted to raiſe either indignation or compaſſion.

It is by this Figure that Cicero, in his laſt ſpeech againſt Verres, paints the cruel avarice of a goaler, who ſet a price on the tears and grief of fathers and mothers; made them purchaſe, at a dear rate, the ſad conſolation of ſeeing and embracing their children; and exacted money from them, for the favour of killing at one ſtroke thoſe unhappy victims of Verres's cruelty. [*l*] *Aderat janitor carceris, carnifex prætoris, mors terrorque ſociorum & civium, lictor Sextius, cui ex omni gemitu doloreque certa merces comparabatur. Ut adeas, tantum dabis: ut tibi cibum intrò ferre liceat, tantum. Nemo recuſabat. Quid, ut uno ictu ſecuris afferam mortem filio tuo, quid dabis? ne diu crucietur? ne ſæpius feriatur? ne cum ſenſu doloris aliquo aut cruciatu ſpiritûs auferatur? Etiam ob hanc cauſam pecunia lictori dabatur. O magnum atque intolerandum dolorem! O gravem acerbamque fortunam! Non vitam liberûm, ſed mortis celeritatem, pretio redimere cogebantur.* " There " was preſent the lictor Sextius, the goaler and exe- " cutioner of the prætor, the terror of the citizens, " and even of his own companions. He received a " tax upon all the groans and pains that were inflict- " ed. If you were to viſit your friend in priſon, ſo " much was to be given. If the priſoner was to have " meat ſent in, the goaler muſt be feed. None ven- " tured to refuſe. How much will you give to have " your ſon's head cut off at one blow? How much " for haſtening his tortures? for diminiſhing his " ſtripes? for making him give up his breath with " the ſmalleſt ſenſe of pain? for all this the execu-

[*l*] Verr. 7. n. 117, 118.

" tioner

" tioner was to be paid. O intolerable grief! O " wretched and bitter fortune! The father was " obliged to pay, not for saving the life of his child, " but for dispatching his death."

Milo was of a character that would not permit him to descend to mean supplications. Cicero puts a great and noble, and at the same time, a soft and moving speech into his mouth: [*m*] *Valeant, inquit, valeant cives mei. Sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati. Stet hæc urbs præclara, mihique patria carissima, quoquo modo merita de me erit. Tranquillâ republicâ cives mei (quoniam mihi cum illis non licet) sine me ipsi, sed per me tamen, perfruantur. Ego cedam atque abibo, &c.* " Farewel, " perhaps he will say, farewel, my fellow-citizens; " may you be happy, safe, and flourishing. May " this famous city, so dear to me, ever remain, what- " ever be its conduct towards me. Let my fellow- " citizens enjoy that tranquillity without me, which " they have obtained by me, if I am not admitted to " partake. Yes, I will give up my claims," &c. [*n*] The effect of this Figure is, to make those persons who are introduced speaking, to be present, as it were, to the auditors; and to write in such a manner, that we may imagine we see and hear them.

4. The orator goes still farther. He sometimes opens graves, and makes the dead rise out of them, to admonish or reprimand the living. We have two fine examples of this Figure in [*o*] Cicero's plea for Cœlius, to which I refer the reader.

At other times, the orator directs his discourse to the dead: " [*p*] Great queen, I gratify your most " affectionate wishes, when I celebrate this monarch; " and this heart, which never lived but for him, " awakens, though it be dust, and becomes sensible, " even under this pall, at the name of so dear a " consort."

[*m*] Pro Mil. n. 92.

[*n*] Non audire judex videtur aliena mala deflentes, sed sensum ac vocem auribus accipere miserorum, quorum etiam mutus aspectus lacrymas movet. Quint. lib. 6. c. 1.

[*o*] Pro Cœl. n. 33, 36.

[*p*] Bossuet.

[*q*] To

[q] To make these fictions pleasing, it is requisite, that the utmost strength of eloquence should be employed, as Quintilian observes; for things that are extraordinary and incredible, and, as it were, out of nature, do not produce an indifferent effect. They must therefore necessarily either make a very strong impression, because they go beyond the bounds of truth, or be looked upon as puerilities, because they are false.

[r] The *hypotyposis* is a Figure which paints the image of the things we are speaking of, in such lively colours, that we think we see them, instead of hearing them barely related: and in this chiefly consists the force and power of eloquence, which has not sufficient authority, nor all the effect it ought to have, if it only strikes the ear, without moving the imagination, and reaching the heart.

1. These images are sometimes formed with a few words, and are not the least affecting.

[s] Virgil paints, in a verse and a half, the consternation of Euryalus's mother the instant she heard of his death:

Miseræ calor ossa reliquit:
Excussi manibus radii, revolutaque pensa.

"Chill horrors seiz'd her frame,
"And from her hands the housewife's spindle fell."

[t] Cicero paints in two lines Verres's anger, or rather madness: *Ipse inflammatus scelere ac furore in forum venit. Ardebant oculi; toto ex ore crudelitas eminebat.* "He himself inflamed with guilt and mad-

[q] Magna quædam vis eloquentiæ desideratur. Falsa enim & incredibilia naturâ necesse est aut magis moveant, quia supra vera sunt; aut pro vanis accipiantur, quia vera non sunt. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

[r] Ὑποτύπωσις dicitur, proposita quædam forma rerum ita expressa verbis, ut cerni potiùs videatur, quam audiri. Ibid.

Magna virtus est, res, de quibus loquimur, clarè, atque ut cerni videantur, enunciare. Non enim satis efficit, neque, ut debet, plenè dominatur orato, si usque ad aures volet, atque ea sibi judex, de quibus cognoscit, narrari credit, non exprimi, & oculis mentis ostendi. Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

[s] Æn. l. 9. v. 475.

[t] In Ver. 7. n. 58.

"ness,

" neſs, came into the forum. His eyes burned with " rage, and his face all over ſpoke nothing but " cruelty."

He elſewhere draws another picture of Verres, ſtill more beautiful, and in as few words, though it does not ſtrike ſo much at firſt: as it happens ſometimes with pictures, whoſe beauty is only perceived by the ſkilful. [*u*] *Stetit ſoleatus prætor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari, mulierculâ nixus in littore.* " The Roman prætor ſtood in his ſlippers co- " vered with a purple cloak, and an effeminate robe, " leaning upon a woman on the ſhore." Quintilian explains, in an admirable manner, the force and energy of that ſhort deſcription. He recites the very words, becauſe they may ſerve as a model to maſters for the better underſtanding and explaining of authors. [*x*] *An quiſquam*, ſays he, *tam procul à concipiendis imaginibus rerum abeſt, ut cum illa in Verrem legit*, ſtetit ſoleatus, &c. *non ſolùm ipſum os intueri videatur, & locum & habitum, ſed quædam etiam ex iis, quæ dicta non ſunt, ſibi ipſe aſtruat? Ego certè mihi cernere videor & vultum, & oculos, & deformes utriuſque blanditias, & eorum qui aderant tacitam averſationem, ac timidam verecundiam.* " Is there any of ſo dull a conception, " as not to be ſtruck with this image of Verres; does " he not only behold his face, his dreſs, the place " where he ſtands, but alſo many things not men- " tioned? For my part, I think I ſee his counte- " nance, his eyes, and all their deteſtable ogling, " together with the ſilent averſion, and fearful baſh- " fulneſs of all preſent." If we change ſome words in Cicero's deſcription, and change the place of others, making it, *ſtetit Verres in littore . . . cum muliere colloquens*, this excellent picture will loſe a great part of its vivacity and colouring. The chief beauty conſiſts in painting a Roman prætor in the attitude Cicero repreſents him, leaning in a careleſs and indolent manner on a woman. Theſe two words, *mulierculâ nixus*, are a ſpeaking picture, which preſents to the

[*u*] In Verr. 7. n. 160. [*x*] Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

eye

eye and the mind all that Quintilian ſees in it, *in littore* reſerved for the cloſe, adds the laſt touch, as we have already obſerved in another place; and diſplays the ungovernable licentiouſneſs of Verres, who, by appearing in ſo indecent a poſture upon the ſhore, and before a multitude of ſpectators, ſeemed inſolently to ſet all decency and public decorum at defiance.

Our poets are full of theſe ſhort and lively deſcriptions.

[y] Son courſier, écumant ſous ſon maître intrépide,
Nage tout orgueilleux de la main qui le guide.

" His foaming ſteed, beneath his dauntleſs rider,
" Swims, proud of the glorious hand which guides
" him."

And again,

Quatre bœus attelés, d'un pas tranquille & lent
Promenoient dans Paris le monarque indolent.

" Four harneſs'd oxen, with an eaſy pace,
" Drag the lethargic monarch about Paris."

But nothing is more perfect than the following picture:

La moleſſe opreſſée
Dans ſa bouche à ce mot ſent ſa langue glacée,
Et laſſe de parler, ſuccombant ſous l'effort,
Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil, & s'endort.

" This word oppreſſes ſloth;
" Inſtant her tongue is frozen in her mouth:
" Now, dead to ſpeech, ſinking beneath her efforts,
" She ſtretches, ſighs, ſhe ſhuts her eyes, and ſleeps."

2. The deſcriptions I have hitherto given are ſhort, and only exhibit a ſingle object. But there are others of a greater length, and more circumſtantial, which reſemble thoſe pictures where ſeveral Figures are repreſented, all the attitudes of which ſtrike, and command our attention. Such is that deſcription of a riotous entertainment, mentioned in an harangue of

[y] Deſpreaux.

Cicero

Cicero which is loſt. *Videbar mihi videre alios intrantes, alios autem exeuntes, partim ex vino vacillantes, partim heſternâ potatione oſcitantes. Verſabatur inter hos Gallius unguentis oblitus, redimitus coronis. Humus erat immunda, lutulenta vino, coronis languidulis & ſpinis cooperta piſcium.* " I fancied to myſelf that I ſaw ſome " entering, others going out; ſome ſtaggering in " drunkenneſs, others yawning from laſt night's de- " bauch. Among them was Gallius employed, " crowned with a garland, and ſmeared with un- " guents. The pavement was indecent to be ſeen, " moiſt with wine, and covered over with faded gar- " lands, and the bones of fiſhes." Quintilian, who preſerved this beautiful fragment, diſplays its beauty and value by a very lively expreſſion, which compriſes the whole. [z] *Quid plus videret, qui intrâſſet?* " If a man had actually entered, what could he have " ſeen more?" He himſelf gives an excellent deſcription of a town taken by ſtorm, and plundered, which is well worth reading. We find a great number of this kind in Cicero, which will not eſcape the obſervation of a diligent maſter. Our French poets as well as orators, abound alſo with a multitude of theſe.

Joſabeth, in Racine's Athaliah, gives us a wonderful deſcription of the manner in which ſhe ſaved Joas from the ſlaughter.

[a] Hélas! l'état horrible où le ciel me l'offrit,
Revient à tout moment effraïer mon eſprit,
De princes égorgés la chambre étoit remplie,
Un poignard à la main l'implacable Athalie
Au carnage animoit ſes barbares ſoldats,
Et pourſuivoit le cours de ſes aſſaſſinats.
Joas, laiſſé pour mort, frapa ſoudain ma vûe.
Je me figure encore ſa nourrice éperdue,
Qui devant les bourreaux s'étoit jettée en vain,
Et foible le tenoit renverſé ſur ſon ſein.

[z] Quint. l. 8. c. 3. [a] Racine.

Je

Je le pris tout ſanglant. En baignant ſon viſage,
Mes pleurs du ſentiment lui rendirent l'uſage :
Et ſoit fraieur encore, ou pour me careſſer,
De ſes bras innocens je me ſentis preſſer.

" Alas! the ſtate in which heav'n gave him to me,
" Returns each moment to my frighted ſoul;
" The room was fill'd around with murder'd princes.
" Dread Athaliah, with her ſword unſheath'd,
" Rous'd her barbarian ſoldiers to the ſlaughter,
" And ſtill purſued the ſeries of her murders.
" Joas, now left as dead! ſtruck ſtrong my ſight:
" Methinks I ſtill behold his weeping nurſe,
" Kneeling, in vain, before the bloody hangman;
" The tender babe upon her breaſt reclin'd.
" I took him bloody: bathing then his face,
" Soon did my tears recal his fleeting breath.
" Whether 'twas fear, or whether to embrace me,
" I felt him preſs me with his tender arms."

M. Flechier's deſcription of hoſpitals may ſerve as a model in this kind. 'Tis in the queen's funeral oration. " Let us behold her in theſe hoſpitals, where " ſhe practiſed her public acts of pity; in thoſe places, " where all the infirmities and accidents of human " life are aſſembled; where the groans and com- " plaints of thoſe who ſuffer, and are in pain, fill " the ſoul with ſympathetic ſadneſs; where the ſmell " that exhales from the bodies of ſo many diſeaſed pa- " tients, makes thoſe who attend upon them ready to " faint away; where we ſee pain and poverty exer- " ciſing their fatal empire; and where the image of " miſery and death ſtrikes almoſt every ſenſe. It is " there, that raiſing herſelf above the fears and deli- " cacies of nature, to ſatisfy her charity, though at " the hazard of her health, ſhe was ſeen every week " drying up the tears of this object; providing for " the wants of that: procuring remedies and com- " forts for the evils of ſome, and conſolations and " eaſe of conſcience for others."

Theſe

These passages are very well adapted to the taste of youth. [b] We must observe to them, that the most certain way of succeeding in descriptions of this kind is to consult nature, to study her well, and to take her as a guide; so that every one, inwardly sensible of the truth of what is spoken, may find within himself the sentiments expressed in the discourse. [c] For that purpose we must represent to ourselves, in a lively manner, all the circumstances of the thing to be described, and bring it before us by the strength of our imagination, as if we had been spectators of it. [d] And why, says Quintilian, should not the imagination perform as much for the orator on this occasion, as she does for people who are addicted to any kind of passions? as for instance, misers and ambitious men, who in this kind of pleasing dreams, in which they form a thousand chimerical projects of fortune and riches, abandon themselves so much to the object of their darling passion, and are so strongly possessed with it, that they really believe they see and enjoy it.

Quintilian himself furnishes us with a model of this way of making a description, which I will quote at length, because it shews youth how they must proceed in it, in order to compose well. [e] *Ut hominem occisum querar, non omnia, quæ in re præsenti accidisse credibile est, in oculis habebo? Non percussor ille subitus erumpet? non expaveſcet circumventus? exclamabit, vel rogabit, vel fugiet? non ferientem, non concidentem videbo? non animo sanguis, & pallor, & gemitus, extremus denique expirantis hiatus insidet?* "In order to aggra-

[b] Naturam intueamur, hanc sequamur. Omnis eloquentia circa opera vitæ est; ad se refert quisque quæ audit: & id facillimè accipiunt animi, quod cognoscunt. Quint. l. 8. c. 3.

[c] Per quas (φαντασίας) imagines rerum absentium ita repræsentantur animo, ut eas cernere oculis ac præsentes habere videamur. Has quisquis bene conceperit, is erit in affectibus potentissimus. Hunc quidam dicunt, εὐφαντασίωτον, qui sibi res, voces, actus secundum verum optimè fingit. Quint. l. 6. c. 2.

[d] Nam si inter otia animorum, & spes inanes, & velut somnia quædam vigilantium, ita nos hæ de quibus loquimur imagines prosequuntur, ut peregrinari, navigare, præliari, populos alloqui, divitiarum quas non habemus usum videamur disponere, nec cogitare, sed facere: hoc animi vitium ad utilitatem non transferemus? Ibid.

[e] Quint. l. 6. c. 2.

"vate

" vate the circumſtances of a murder, ſhould I not " call up to my imagination every thing that might " poſſibly happen in ſuch a caſe? Shall not he that " gave the blow ſuddenly burſt forth? Shall he not " tremble when laid hold on? Will he not either cry " out, or aſk for pity, or attempt to eſcape? Shall " I not repreſent the one as ſtriking, the other as fall- " ing? Will not the blood, the paleneſs, the groans, " nay, even the laſt ſighs of the deceaſed, be preſent " to my mind?" This paſſage ſeems to be copied from Cicero, who thus deſcribes a like action. [*f*] *Nonne vobis hæc, quæ audiſtis, cernere oculis videmini, Judices? Non illum miſerum ignarum caſûs ſui, redeuntem à cœnâ videtis? non poſitas inſidias? non impetum repentinum? Non verſatur ante oculos vobis in cæde Glaucia? Non adeſt iſte Roſcius? non ſuis manibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum, ſui ſceleris acerbiſſimi nefariæque victoriæ nuncium?* " Do you not, my judges, " ſeem to behold what has been thus related to you? " Do you not ſee that poor man, ignorant of his fate, " returning from ſupper? Do you not behold the aſ- " ſaſſins in ambuſh? their ſudden irruption? Does " not Glaucia ſeem active in this horrid ſcene? Is not " Roſcius alſo there aſſiſting? Does he not, with his " own hands, place his Automedon, if I may ſo " ſpeak, that partner of his guilt, and meſſenger of " his cruel ſucceſs, in the chariot by him?"

IMAGES.

The laſt words of the deſcription I have here cited, direct me to point out to youth in this place one of the moſt common ſources of oratorial beauties, which conſiſts in giving, as it were, body and reality to the things we are ſpeaking of; and painting them by viſible ſtrokes, which may ſtrike the ſenſes, move the imagination, and preſent a ſenſible object. This method has ſome relation to the precedent figure, the hypotypoſis, and perhaps is a part of it. *Non ſuis ma-*

[*f*] Pro Roſc. Amer. n. 98.

nibus in curru collocat Automedontem illum? Theſe words, *ſuis manibus*, produce here the effect I am ſpeaking of, and preſent an image to the mind. The ſame obſervation may be made on the two verſes above-cited.

Un poignard à la main, l'implacable Athalie
Au carnage animoit ſes barbares ſoldats.

Engliſhed.

" Fierce Athaliah, in her hand a poniard,
" Prompted her ſavage ſoldiers to the ſlaughter."

This touch, *with a poniard in her hand*, forms all the vivacity of theſe lines. The objects we deſcribe may be painted in this manner with infinite variety, of which I ſhall give ſeveral examples, that the reader may apply to the rule I have already given.

[*g*] *Tendit ad vos virgo veſtalis manus ſupplices eaſdem, quas pro vobis diis immortalibus tendere conſuevit. . . . Proſpicite ne ignis ille æternus, nocturnis Fonteiæ laboribus vigiliiſque ſervatus, ſacerdotis Veſtæ lacrymis extinctus eſſe dicatur.* " The veſtal ſtretches forth to " you her ſuppliant hands, thoſe hands with which " ſhe has often implored the gods for your ſafety. " Be mindful, leſt that eternal fire, which has been " kept alive by the nightly watchings and labours of " Fonteia, ſhould be in a manner quenched by the " tears of this ſacred prieſteſs."

[*h*] *Hæc magnitudo maleficii facit, ut, niſi penè manifeſtum parricidium proferatur, credibile non ſit. . . . Penè dicam reſperſas manus ſanguine paterno judices videant oportet, ſi tantum facinus, tam immane, tam acerbum crediturí ſint.* " The greatneſs of the crime of par- " ricide is ſuch, that unleſs it be almoſt manifeſt, it " ſhould not be believed. I had almoſt ſaid, that the " judges ſhould even ſee the murderer's hands red " with his father's blood, before they give credit to " his committing a crime ſo hideous and ſo unna- " tural."

[*g*] Pro M. Font. n. 37, 38. [*h*] Pro Roſc. Amer. n. 68.

" [*i*] What-

" [*i*] What nation has not felt the effects of his va-
" lour; and which of our frontier towns has not
" ſerved as a theatre to his glory.

" In the tumult and noiſe of armies, he uſed to en-
" tertain himſelf with the ſweet and ſecret hopes of
" ſolitude. With one hand he fell upon the Ama-
" lekites, while the other was lifted up to draw down
" upon himſelf the bleſſings of heaven.

" It taught him to lift up his pure, his innocent
" hands, to heaven.

" Before he accepted of any poſt or employment,
" he would know the duties of it. The firſt tribunal
" he aſcended, was that of his conſcience, there to
" examine his intentions thoroughly.

" When he reſtored God's worſhip in his con-
" queſts, and as he was marching upon thoſe ramparts
" he had a little before demoliſhed, his firſt homage
" was his offering to God the laurels he had won, at
" the foot of his altars which he reſtored.

" I am not afraid of blending her praiſes with the
" ſacrifice offered for her; and I take from the altar
" all the incenſe I burn upon her tomb. . . . Why
" ſhould I take off the veil which ſhe threw over her
" actions?

" He made it his ſtudy to diſcover truth, through
" the veils of falſhood and impoſture with which hu-
" man luſts cover it.

" [*k*] Are ſuch truths learnt at court, in the army,
" under the helmet, and the coat of mail?

" [*l*] You think then, that anxiety, and the moſt
" deadly ſorrows, are not to be hid under royal robes;
" or that a kingdom is an univerſal remedy againſt all
" evils?

" Methinks I ſtill ſee that flower falling." *Speak-
ing of the death of an infant prince.*

" When all things ſubmitted to Lewis, and we be-
" lieved the miraculous times were returning, when
" walls fell down at the ſound of trumpets; the
" whole nation caſt their eyes on the queen, and

[*i*] Flechier. [*k*] Maſcar. [*l*] Boſſuet.

" thought they ſaw the thunder, which demoliſhed
" ſo many cities, fly from her oratory.
" [*m*] With a calm and ſerene aſpect, he (Lewis
" XIV.) formed thoſe thunderbolts which were heard
" throughout the world, and thoſe which ſtill remain
" to be hurled."

[*n*] Pour comble de proſperité,
Il eſpere (*l'impie*) revivre en ſa poſtérité:
Et d'enfans à ſa table une riante troupe
Semble boire avec lui la joie à pleine coupe.

Engliſhed.

" The wretch, more proſp'rous ſtill,
" Hopes to revive in his poſterity:
" Fancies his children are converſing with him,
" And, fluſh'd with joy, ſmile o'er the flowing
" bowls."

Before I conclude this article, I muſt obſerve in general, [*o*] that Figures ought to be applied with great diſcernment and prudence. They are like ſeaſoning to an oration; they raiſe the ſtyle, make us quit the vulgar and common way of ſpeaking, prevent the diſtaſte which a tireſome uniformity would occaſion; but then they muſt be employed ſparingly, and with diſcretion; for, if they are uſed too often, they loſe the grace of variety, in which their principal merit conſiſts; and the more they ſhine, the more they diſguſt and tire, from a vicious affectation, which ſhews they are not natural but far-fetched, with too much care, and, as it were, forced in.

It is not neceſſary to obſerve, that ſome Figures are ſo common and trivial, they have loſt all their beauty,

[*m*] Peliſſon.

[*n*] Racine.

[*o*] Una in re maximè utilis, ut quotidiani & ſemper eodem modo formati ſermonis faſtidium levet, & nos à vulgari dicendi genere defendat. Quo ſi quis parcè, & cum res poſcet, utetur, velut aſperſo quodam condimento, jucundior erit. At qui nimiùm affectaverit, ipſam illam gratiam varietatis amittet. . . Nam & ſecretæ, & extra vulgarem uſum poſitæ, ideoque magis nobiles, ut novitate aurem excitant, ita copiâ ſatiant: nec ſe obvias fuiſſe dicenti, ſed conquiſitas, & ex omnibus latebris extractas congeſtaſque declarant. Quint. l. 9. c. 3.

eſpecially

eſpecially when they are too long. [p] *Miſerum eſt exturbari fortunis omnibus: miſerius eſt injuriâ. Acerbum eſt . . . acerbius. Calamitoſum eſt . . . calamitoſius. Funeſtum eſt . . . funeſtius. Indignum eſt . . . indignius. Luctuoſum eſt . . . luctuoſius. Horribile eſt . . . horribilius.* The auditor anticipates the anſwer, and is tired of this burden of a ſong always in the ſame ſtrain. The ſame may be obſerved of the other Figure, which is ſtill more tedious. [q] *Qui ſunt qui fœdera ſæpe ruperunt? Carthaginienſes. Qui ſunt qui in Italia crudele bellum geſſerunt? Carthaginienſes. Qui ſunt, &c.*

ARTICLE THE SIXTH.

Of oratorial Precautions.

I HERE give that name to a certain care which the orator muſt take not to offend the delicacy of thoſe before or of whom he is ſpeaking; and the ſtudied and artful turns which he employs to expreſs ſome things, that would otherwiſe appear harſh and offenſive. I call this oratorial Precautions, becauſe it contains an art and addreſs, certainly eſſential to rhetoric, and for that reaſon deſerves the attention of youth. Some examples will render the thing more obvious.

Chryſogonus, Sylla's freedman, was in ſuch credit with his maſter (who was then abſolute in the commonwealth), that no lawyer durſt plead againſt him in behalf of Roſcius. Cicero only, though very young, had the courage to undertake ſo delicate a cauſe. [r] He is very careful throughout the whole ſpeech to obſerve in ſeveral places, that Sylla was a ſtranger to all the villainies of his freedman; that great induſtry had been uſed to conceal them from him; that thoſe who could have informed him of them, were denied all acceſs to him; that, on the whole, it was not ſurpriſing,

[p] Pro Quint. n. 95.
[q] Cornif. l. 4.
[r] Pro Roſc. n. 21, 22, 25, 91, 110, 127.

that [s] Sylla, who alone had the care of re-eſtabliſhing and governing the commonwealth, ſhould not know or neglect ſeveral things, ſince a great many eſcaped the knowledge and attention of Jupiter himſelf in the government of the univerſe. It is very obvious, that ſuch Precautions were abſolutely neceſſary.

Cicero, in his pleading, called *Divinatio in Verrem*, is obliged to ſhew, that he is fitter to plead againſt Verres than Cecilius. [t] Such a cauſe was to be managed with great addreſs and conduct, to avoid giving offence; for ſelf-praiſe is always odious, eſpecially when it turns on wit and eloquence. After Cicero had proved, that Cecilius had none of the qualifications neceſſary for a cauſe of ſo much importance, he is far from aſcribing them to himſelf: ſo groſs a vanity would have ſet every body againſt him. [u] He ſays only, that he had laboured all his life to acquire them; and that if he was not able to ſucceed, notwithſtanding his great pains and induſtry, it is not ſurpriſing that Cecilius, who never had any idea of this noble profeſſion, ſhould be abſolutely incapable of it.

When he pleaded for Flaccus, he was to invalidate the teſtimony of ſeveral Greeks, who had ſworn againſt his client. To do this the more effectually, he attempts to depreciate the nation itſelf, as not over-ſcrupulous in matters of veracity and ſincerity. He does not begin abruptly with ſo harſh a charge. At firſt, he ſets apart, as it were, a real number of worthy perſons, who are far from being carried away with the blind paſſion of ſome of their countrymen. He afterwards gives great encomiums to the whole nation, highly magnifying their genius, abilities, politeneſs, their taſte for arts, and their marvellous talent for eloquence; but he adds, that the Greeks never piqued

[s] N. 131.

[t] Intelligo quàm ſcopuloſo difficilique in loco verſer. Nam cùm omnis arrogantia odioſa eſt, tum illa ingenii atque eloquentiæ multò moleſtiſſima, n. 36.

[u] Fortaſſe dices: Quid? Ergo hæc in te ſunt omnia? Utinam quidem eſſent! veruntamen ut eſſe poſſent, magno ſtudio mihi à pueritiâ eſt elaboratum, n. 40.

themſelves

themſelves upon being exact or ſincere in giving evidence. [x] *Veruntamen hoc dico de toto genere Græcorum: tribuo illis literas; do multarum artium diſciplinam; non adimo ſermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam; denique etiam, ſi qua ſibi alia ſumunt, non repugno: teſtimoniorum religionem & fidem nunquam iſta natio coluit, totiuſque hujuſce rei quæ ſit vis, quæ auctoritas, quod pondus, ignorant.* "But let me give the "Greeks their due praiſe. I allow them to be learned, perfectly ſkilled in many of the arts; I do not "refuſe them an elegance of ſtyle, a penetration of "genius, or a facility of ſpeaking. Nay, if there be "any other merit they are willing to claim, I will not "refuſe it; but that nation was never remarkable for "integrity in giving their teſtimony. They are to-"tally ignorant of the force, the weight, and the au-"thority of an oath."

We know Cicero chiefly excelled in moving the paſſions, and that he often drew tears from the eyes of his auditors, by the ſoft and affecting diſcourſe he put into the mouths of his clients, in the concluſion of his pleadings. The greatneſs of ſoul and noble pride upon which Milo valued himſelf, deprived his advocate of ſo powerful a reſource. [y] But Cicero had the art of making even his courage of ſervice towards gaining the favour of the judges; and he himſelf aſſumed the character of a petitioner, which he could not give to his client.

The inviolable reſpect which children owe to their parents, even when they treat them with rigour and injuſtice, makes ſome conjunctures very difficult, in which they are obliged to ſpeak againſt their parents; and it is on theſe occaſions that true rhetoric furniſhes turns, and artful ſtrokes, which give to paternal authority whatever is its due, without loſing any of the advantages of the cauſe. [z] It muſt then be inculcated,

[x] Pro Flacco, n. 9.

[y] Ergo & ille captavit ex illâ præſtantiâ animi favorem, & in locum lacrymarum ejus ipſe ſucceſſit. Quint. l. 6. c. 1.

[z] Hoc illis commune remedium eſt; ſi in totâ actione æqualiter appareat, non honor modò, ſed eti-

cated, that nothing but indiſpenſible neceſſity can force, from the mouths of children, complaints which their hearts would ſuppreſs; and that even through thoſe complaints, not only a fund of reſpect may be diſcovered, but one of love and tenderneſs alſo. A fine example of this precept may be ſeen in the pleading for Cluentius, whom his mother treated with unheard-of cruelty.

[*a*] The rule I have now touched upon regards every inferior, who has any juſt pretenſions againſt a ſuperior, whom he ought to reſpect and honour.

There are ſome occaſions where intereſt or decency will not permit us to explain ourſelves in expreſs terms [*b*], but in which we would, at the ſame time, inſinuate to the judge ſome things we dare not ſpeak openly. A ſon, for example, cannot gain his ſuit without diſcovering a crime of which his father is guilty. [*c*] The things themſelves, ſays Quintilian, muſt lead the judge inſenſibly to gueſs at what the parties are unwilling to declare; that, every other motive being laid aſide, he may be forced, as it were, to ſee the only one which remains; and which the reſpect for a father hinders him from diſcovering. And then, the ſon's ſpeech being ſuſpended and interrupted from time to time, as it were by a forced ſilence, and a warm ſenſe of tenderneſs, muſt explain the violence he does himſelf, to prevent his letting words drop, which the force of truth would ſeemingly extort from him. By this, the judge is inclined to enquire after that inexpreſſible ſomething, which he would not perhaps have believed, had it been diſcovered to him; but which he now is fully convinced of, from the belief that he has diſcovered it by his own enquiry.

am caritas: præterea cauſa ſit nobis juſta ſic dicendi; neque id moderatè tantùm faciamus, ſed etiam neceſſariò. Quint. l. 11. c. 1.

[*a*] N. 12, & 17.

[*b*] In quo per quandam ſuſpicionem, quod non dicimus, accipi volumus. Quint. l. 9. c. 2.

[*c*] Res ipſæ perducant judicem ad ſuſpicionem, & amoliamur cætera, ut hoc ſolum ſuperſit: in quo multum etiam affectus juvant, & interrupta ſilentio dictio, & cunctationes. Sic enim fiet, ut judex quærat illud nescio quid, quod ipſe fortaſſe non crederet, ſi audiret: & ei, quod à ſe inventum exiſtimat, credat. Ibid.

There

There are likewiſe ſome perſons of ſo venerable a character, and ſo univerſal a reputation, that their very names are enough to bear down their adverſaries. Such was Cato in his conteſt with Murena; and we cannot make youth too ſenſible of the ſurpriſing art with which [d] Cicero deprived Cato of ſome part of his authority and credit, by the picture he drew of the ſect of the Stoics, which he turned into ridicule with ſo much wit and humour, that Cato himſelf could not forbear laughing at it; and this, without ſaying any thing derogatory to his perſon, which was to be, in a manner, ſacred to him, and was certainly inacceſſible, and impregnable to any kind of cenſure.

Was there ever a nicer or more difficult affair than that which Cicero undertook, in oppoſing the levelling or Agrarian law? for ſo they called the law which appointed lands to be diſtributed among the pooreſt of people. That law had at all times ſerved the tribunes as a bait to gain the populace, and to fix them in their intereſt. It appeared indeed to be very much in their favour, by procuring them repoſe, and a ſafe retreat. However, Cicero undertakes to make the people themſelves reject it, juſt after they had choſen him conſul with unparalleled marks of diſtinction. Had he begun with ſpeaking openly againſt that law, the whole people would have exclaimed and roſe againſt him. He was too wiſe, and too well acquainted with men, to act after that manner. It deſerves our admiration, to ſee how long he keeps his auditors in ſuſpence, without letting them diſcover what party he had taken, or what opinion he intended to inculcate. He employs at firſt all the power of his eloquence, to ſhew the people the lively ſenſe he had of the very ſignal favour he had lately received from them. He carefully heightens all the circumſtances of it, which reflected ſo much honour upon him. He afterwards takes notice of the duties and

[d] Quàm molli autem articulo tractavit Catonem, cujus naturam ſummè admiratus, non ipſius vitio ſed Stoicæ ſectæ, quibuſdam in rebus factam duriorem videri volebat! Quint. l. 11. c. 3.

obligations,

obligations, which ſo unanimous a conſent of the people in chuſing him conſul, had laid him under. He declares, that, as he is obliged to them for all his honours and dignities, he ſhall always have the popular intereſt at heart, not only during the continuance of his office, but during his life. But he takes notice, that the word *popular* requires explanation: and, after ſhewing its various acceptations; after he had diſcovered the ſecret intrigues of the tribunes, who concealed their ambitious deſign under that plauſible name; after he had highly applauded the Gracchi, who were zealous defenders of the Agrarian law, and whoſe memory, for that reaſon, was ſo dear to the Roman people; after he had thus inſinuated himſelf by degrees into the minds of the auditors, and gained them entirely; he does not, however, dare yet attack openly the law in queſtion, but contents himſelf with proteſting, that, in caſe the people, after hearing him, don't acknowledge, that this law, under a deceitful outſide, gives in effect a blow to their quiet and their liberty, he then will join with them, and ſubmit to their opinion. This is a perfect model of what we call an *inſinuatory exordium* in the ſchools; and methinks one ſuch paſſage as this is ſufficient for forming the underſtanding of youth, and teaching them the dextrous and reſpectful way of combating the opinions of thoſe who are not to be oppoſed directly on the ſcore of acknowledgment and ſubmiſſion. This diſcourſe had all the effect which was expected from it; and the people, being undeceived by the eloquent diſcourſe of their conſul, repealed the Agrarian law.

The paſſage in Cicero's oration for Ligarius, where an enquiry is made what people ought to think of Pompey's party, required to be handled with great nicety. Tubero had declared thoſe to be criminal who bore arms againſt Cæſar. Cicero heightens and condemns the harſhneſs of that expreſſion: and, after recapitulating the different names given to the conduct of thoſe who had declared for Pompey, as error, fear, luſt, paſſion,

paſſion, prepoſſeſſion, intoxication, raſhneſs; "For "my part, ſays he, if people aſk me, what is the pro- "per and true name which ought to be given to our "misfortune, methinks it is a fatal influence that has "blinded men, and forced them along, in ſpite of "all their endeavours to the contrary; ſo that we muſt "not wonder to ſee the unſurmountable will of the "Gods prevail over the counſels of men." [e] *Ac mihi quidem, ſi proprium & verum nomen noſtri mali quæratur, fatalis quædam calamitas incidiſſe videtur, & improvidas hominum mentes occupaviſſe: ut nemo mirari debeat, humanacon ſilia divinâ neceſſitate eſſe ſuperata.* There was nothing in this definition injurious to Pompey's party; and, ſo far from offending Cæſar, it pleaſed him very much.

Such of our writers as have treated of the laſt civil wars of France, ſeem to have had the above-mentioned paſſage of Cicero in view; but then they have very much improved upon the original.

[f] "Alas, unhappy France! though thou gotteſt "rid of that enemy, were there not ſtill enough re- "maining, without turning thine arms againſt thy- "ſelf? What fatal influence could induce thee to "ſhed ſo much blood? Why cannot we obliterate "thoſe melancholy years from hiſtory, and keep "them from the knowledge of our poſterity? But "ſince it is impoſſible to paſs over things, which the "ſhedding of ſo much blood has too ſtrongly record- "ed, let us reveal them at leaſt, like that artful "painter who invented the profile, in order to con- "ceal the blemiſhes in a face. Let us remove from "our ſight that darkneſs of mind, that fatal night, "which, being formed in the confuſion of public af- "fairs by ſo many different intereſts, made even "thoſe go aſtray, who ſought for the right path."

[g] "Do you, gentlemen, remember that period "of diſorder and confuſion, when the gloomy ſpirit

[e] Pro Ligar. n. 171.
[f] Maſcar. M. du Turenne's funeral oration.
[g] Flechier, in M. Turenne's funeral oration.

of

" of diſcord confounded juſtice and right with paſ-
" ſion, duty with intereſt, the good cauſe with the
" bad; when moſt of the brighteſt ſtars ſuffered ſome
" eclipſe, and the moſt faithful ſubjects ſaw them-
" ſelves involuntarily drawn away by the torrent of
" parties; like thoſe pilots, who, finding themſelves
" ſurpriſed by a ſtorm in the midſt of the ocean, are
" obliged to change their courſe, and abandon them-
" ſelves for a time to the winds and the tempeſt?
" Such is God's juſtice; ſuch is the natural infirmity
" of men; but the wiſe man eaſily recovers himſelf,
" and there is both in politics, and in religion, a kind
" of repentance more glorious than innocence itſelf,
" which makes an advantageous reparation for a little
" frailty by extraordinary virtues, and a continual
" fervor.

[*b*] " What ſhall I ſay? God ſuffered the winds
" and waves to roar and toſs, and the ſtorm aroſe. A
" peſtiferous air of factions and inſurrections won the
" heart of the ſtate, and extended itſelf to the moſt
" diſtant parts. The paſſions, which our ſins had
" kindled, broke down the fences of juſtice and rea-
" ſon; and the wiſeſt men, being drawn away by the
" unhappineſs of engagements and conjectures,
" againſt their own inclinations, found they had
" ſtrayed beyond the bounds of their duty before
" they perceived it."

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH.

Of the PASSIONS.

I SHOULD be extremely tedious, did I under-take to touch even but curſorily upon all that concerns this ſubject, it being one of the moſt important in rhetoric. It is known, that the paſſions are, as it were, the ſoul of an oration: that it is from them it derives that impetuoſity and vehemence, which bear

[*b*] M. Flechier, in M. de Tellier's funeral oration.

down

down all before them; and [*i*] that the orator by their means attains an absolute empire over his auditors, and inspires them with whatever sentiments he pleases; sometimes by artfully taking advantage of the bias and favourable disposition of people's minds, but at other times in surmounting all their opposition by the victorious strength of the oration, and obliging them to surrender, as it were, in spite of themselves. Cæsar was not able to resist, when he heard Cicero's defence of Ligarius, though he was much upon his guard against his eloquence; being determined, when he came out of his own house, not to pardon the latter.

I think it sufficient to refer youth to Cicero's * perorations, and to exhort them to make the application themselves, of the excellent precepts left us by Cicero and Quintilian on this subject. [*k*] The most important of all is, that in order to affect others, we must be affected ourselves; for which end, we must be deeply touched with the subject we treat of, be fully convinced of it, and be sensible of its whole truth and importance. We must likewise form a strong representation to ourselves of the things we would make use of to move the passions of the auditors, and describe them in a warm and lively manner; and this we shall do, if we are careful to study nature, and to take her always for our guide. [*l*] For whence comes it, that we see ignorant persons express them-

[*i*] Tantam vim habet illa, quæ rectè à bono poeta dicta est, *flexanima atque omnium regina rerum oratio*, ut non modò inclinantem erigere, aut stantem inclinare, sed etiam adversantem & repugnantem, ut imperator bonus ac fortis, capere possit. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 187.

* Conclusions of a speech.

[*k*] Summa circa movendos affectus in hoc posita est, ut moveamur ipsi. . . Primum est ut apud nos valeant ea quæ valere apud judicem volumus, afficiamurque antequam afficere conemur. . . Ubi miseratione opus erit, nobis ea de quibus querimur, accidisse credamus, atque id animo nostro persuadeamus. Nos illi simus, quos gravia, indigna, tristia passos queramur. Nec agamus rem quasi alienam, sed assumamus parumper illum dolorem. Ita dicemus, quæ in simili nostro casu dicturi essemus. Quintil. l. 6. c. 2.

[*l*] Quid enim aliud est causæ, ut lugentes utique in recenti dolore disertissimè quædam exclamare videantur, & ira nonnunquam indoctis quoque eloquentiam faciat, quàm quòd illis inest vis mentis, & veritas ipsa morum? Quint. l. 6. c. 3.

selves,

ſelves with ſo much eloquence, in the firſt ſallies of their grief or anger, except it is becauſe thoſe ſenſations are not ſtudied or fictitious, but drawn from truth and nature itſelf?

[*m*] An Athenian having intreated Demoſthenes to plead for him againſt a citizen, from whom he pretended to have received a great affront; and as he was giving a relation of his pretended ill uſage with a cold and ſedate tone of voice, without paſſion or warmth: not a word of this is true, ſays Demoſthenes; you have not been ill treated, as you ſay you were. How! replies the other, raiſing his voice, and ſeeming in a great paſſion: Have not I been ill treated, have not I been injured? Upon hearing this tone of voice, Demoſthenes perceived the truth, and undertook the cauſe. [*n*] Cicero relates ſomething like this, of an orator named Callidius, againſt whom he pleaded: What! ſays he, if it were true that a deſign was formed againſt your life, as you pretend, would you ſpeak of an attempt of this kind with ſuch a languid careleſs air, which, ſo far from moving the paſſions of your auditors, is fit only to lull them aſleep? Is that the language of grief and indignation, which put lively and animated complaints into the mouths even of children? Theſe two examples ſhew, that we muſt be moved ourſelves, if we would move others, and feel the ſame emotions in our breaſts, with which we would inſpire others.

[*o*] *Si vis me flere, dolendum eſt Primum ipſi tibi.*

[*p*] The peroration is the proper place for the paſſions. It is there the orator diſplays all that is powerful, tender, and moving in eloquence, according to the importance and nature of the affair, in order to

[*m*] Plut. in vit. Demoſth.

[*n*] Hoc ipſum poſuit pro argumento, quòd ille tam ſolutè egiſſet, tam leniter, tam oſcitanter. Tu iſthuc, M. Callidi, niſi fingeres, ſic ageres? . . . Ubi dolor? ubi ardor animi, quí etiam ex infantium ingeniis elicere voces & querelas ſolet! Nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis. . . Itaque tantum abfuit ut inflammares noſtros animos: ſomnum iſto loco vix tenebamus. Brut. n. 277, 278.

[*o*] Horat.

[*p*] Quint. l. 6. c. 1.

complete

complete his conqueſt over the hearts of the auditors, and to extort their conſent.

Sometimes he does not ſtay till the concluſion, to raiſe the paſſions in this manner; but places them after every narrative, when the cauſe comprehends ſeveral of them; or after every part of the narrative, when it is too long; or, laſtly, after the proof of every fact, and it is that we call amplification. The invectives againſt Verres furniſh a great many examples of this kind.

The orator likewiſe moves the paſſions in the other parts of tne oration, [q] but more conciſely, and with much greater caution and reſerve [r] *Omnes hos affectus—aliæ quoque partes recipiunt, ſed breviores.* And this is what Antony obſerved with ſuch ſucceſs in his fine oration for Norbanus: [s] *Ut tu illa omnia odio, invidiâ, miſericordiâ miſcuiſti!* ſays Sulpicius, after he had run through and pointed out the whole ſeries, and all the ſeveral parts of the oration.

" [t] I wonder at thoſe, ſays Quintilian, who pre-
" tend that the paſſions are not to be raiſed in narra-
" tion. If they mean only by this, that we are not
" to dwell long upon them, as is practiſed in the per-
" oration, they are in the right; for there we muſt
" avoid prolixity. But I do not ſee the reaſon why
" endeavours ſhould not be uſed to affect the judges
" while the orator is informing them of the ſtate of
" the caſe, ſince, if we have then been able to inſpire
" them with ſentiments of anger or compaſſion, they
" will be much better diſpoſed to receive and reliſh
" the proofs. [u] Cicero uſed this method in de-
" ſcribing the puniſhment of a [x] Roman citizen, and
" in relating, in another place, the cruelty of Verres
" to Philodamus." *Quid? Philodami caſum nonne* per totam expoſitionem *incendit invidia?* (words that ſhew the whole narration is moving and pathetic)

[q] Deguſtanda hæc (miſeratio) procemio, non conſumenda. Quint. l. 4. c. 1.
[r] Ibid.
[s] Cic. lib. de Orat. n. 203.
[t] Quint. l. 4. c. 2.
[u] Verr. 7. n. 171.
[x] Ver. 3. n. 76.

" order

" Indeed, [y] to wait till the end of the oration, in " order to draw compaſſion for things which we had " related with dry eyes, is a little too late." A relation of grave and moving ſubjects would be very imperfect, if it were not lively and paſſionate.

[z] The paſſage relating to Gavius's puniſhment in the laſt invective againſt Verres, would alone be ſufficient to juſtify the rules we have now laid down. [a] After Cicero had prepared for the fact by a kind of exordium, which is very vehement, [b] and related the manner of, and the reaſon why, Gavius was carried to Meſſina before [c] Verres, he comes to the deſcription of the puniſhment. He inſiſts at firſt upon theſe two circumſtances, viz. whipping a Roman citizen in the middle of the forum at Meſſina, and fixing him on a croſs. Theſe circumſtances are not related coldly, or without paſſion, but after a very lively and moving manner: *Cædebatur virgis in medio foro Meſſanæ civis Romanus, judices, cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia illius miſeri inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, niſi hæc:* Civis Romanus ſum. *Hâc ſe commemoratione civitatis omnia verbera depulſurum, cruciatumque à corpore dejecturum arbitrabatur. Is non modò hoc non perfecit, ut virgarum vim deprecaretur: ſed, cùm imploraret ſæpius, uſurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux inquam, infelici & ærumnoſo, qui nunquam iſtam poteſtatem viderat comparabatur.* " In the midſt of the " forum, of the city of Meſſina, a Roman citizen " was beaten with rods. During this cruel ceremony, " during all the ſmacks of the ſcourge, no groan " was heard, nor no other ſound eſcaped the unhappy " victim, but that of, *I am a citizen of Rome.* By " the bare mentioning of that name, he ſuppoſed he " could mitigate the ſeverity of his puniſhment, and " keep off the tormenting whip. But ſo far was he " from averting the torture that was inflicting, that " on the contrary, after often imploring and uſing

[y] Serum eſt advocare his rebus affectum, quas ſecurus narraveris.
[z] N. 157, 171.
[a] N. 157, 158.
[b] N. 159.
[c] N. 160, 161.

" the

" the name of citizen, the croſs, I ſay the croſs, was " prepared for the miſerable man," &c.

This narrative, which is very pathetic in itſelf, is followed by the amplification, [*d*] in which Cicero, with his uſual elocquence, diſplays all the indignity of this ill uſage of Gavius. *O nomen dulce libertatis! O jus eximium noſtræ civitatis!* " O thou dear name of " liberty! O thou eſtabliſhed right of our city!" &c.

[*e*] He relates one of the late circumſtances of the execution, and reproaches Verres with having induſtriouſly made choice, for putting a Roman citizen to death, of a place from whence the unhappy wretch might, as he was dying, ſee Italy from the top of the gallows: *Ut ille, qui ſe civem Romanum diceret, ex crucè Italiam cernere, ac domum ſuam proſpicere poſſet.* This thought, which is very moving, though expreſſed in two lines, is immediately after enlarged and explained. *Italiæ conſpectus ad eam rem ab iſto electus eſt, ut ille in dolore cruciatuque moriens, peranguſto freto diviſa ſervitutis ac libertatis jura cognoſceret; Italia autem alumnum ſuum extremo ſummoque ſupplicio affectum videret.* " A place where Italy might be ſeen, was " choſen for that purpoſe by Verres, that the poor " man, who was expiring in pains and torments, " might know that the boundaries between liberty " and ſervitude were very narrow; and that Italy " might ſee one of its children unjuſtly dying, with " all the ſeverity of torture."

[*f*] The amplification follows of courſe, and it repreſents that circumſtance in the moſt glaring light poſſible. *Facinus eſt vinciri civem Romanum, &c.*

[*g*] In fine, Cicero concludes all this paſſage with a figure equally bold and pathetic; and by a laſt reflection, which affects all the citizens, and ſeems to be a kind of epilogue, by ſaying, that if he ſhould ſpeak in a deſart, the hardeſt rocks would be moved with the relation of ſo unworthy a treatment. How much

[*d*] N. 161, 167.
[*e*] N. 168.
[*f*] N. 169.
[*g*] N. 170, 171.

more reaſon then have the ſenators and judges to be affected, who, by their conditions and ſtations, are the protectors of the laws, and defenders of the Roman liberty? *Si in aliquâ deſertiſſimâ ſolitudine ad ſaxa & ſcopulos hæc conqueri & deplorare vellem, tamen omnia muta atque inanima tantâ & tam indignâ rerum atrocitate commoverentur, &c.* "If I complained and wept of "theſe things, in the midſt of a deſart, to the rocks "and the ſtones, yet mute and inanimate as they are, "they would be moved at ſo atrocious, ſo baſe a "proceeding."

This is a perfect model of the manner how a narration may be vehement, either in the relation itſelf, or by the reflections which follow it.

[*b*] A kind of chance furniſhed Craſſus inſtantaneouſly with a very lively and vehement turn of eloquence. Cicero has preſerved it in his ſecond book *de Oratore*. Whilſt Craſſus was pleading againſt Brutus, the funeral of a Roman lady, who was related to the latter, came into the forum, where it is known that orators uſed to harangue. Upon this, he diſcontinued his oration, and ſays to Brutus: "What news "would you have this lady to carry to your father? "What would you have her ſay to thoſe famous Ro-"mans, whoſe images are carried with this funeral; "to your anceſtors; to that Brutus who delivered "the people from kingly government? What ſhall "ſhe tell them you are employed in? Upon what ce-"lebrated action, what virtue, on what kind of glory "ſhall ſhe tell them you value yourſelf?" And after he had made a long catalogue of all his faults; "Can "you ſtill, ſays he, after all this, bear the light of

[*b*] Quas tragœdias egit idem (Craſſus) cum caſu in eâdem causâ cum funere efferretur anus Junia! Proh, Dii immortales, quæ fuit illa, quanta vis? quam inexpectata? quam repentina? cùm, conjectis oculis, geſtu omni imminenti, ſummâ gravitate & celeritate verborum: Brute, quid ſedes? Quid illam anum patri nunciare vis tuo? quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? quid majoribus tuis? quid L. Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regio liberavit? quid te facere? cui rei, cui gloriæ, cui virtuti ſtudere? Patrimonione augendo, &c. Tu lucem aſpicere audes? tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium eſſe conſpectu? tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipſas non perhorreſcis? 2. de Orat. n. 225, 226.

"the

" the ſun? ſhew yourſelf in the city? appear before " your fellow-citizens? Ought not the very ſight of " this corpſe, and theſe images, which ſeem to re- " proach you with all your extravagancies, to fill you " with fear and horror."

Sometimes only a turn, or a ſentiment thrown into a ſpeech, produced this effect. Cicero, in the ſhort narrative he made in pleading for Ligarius, might, according to Quintilian's obſervation, be ſatisfied with ſaying, [*i*] *Tum Ligarius nullo ſe implicari negotio paſſus eſt.* [*k*] But he joins an image to it, which makes the narrative more probable and moving. *Tum Ligarius domum ſpectans, & ad ſuos redire cupiens, nullo ſe implicari negotio paſſus eſt.*

[*l*] Virgil, in leſs than a ſingle verſe, gives a very moving deſcription of the death of a young man, who had left Argos, the place of his birth, in order to attach himſelf to Evander,

Et dulces moriens reminiſcitur Argos.

" And his laſt thoughts recal his native Argos."

[*m*] This tender regard of a dying young man for his country, which he ſhould never ſee more, and melancholy remembrance of what was moſt delightful and dear to him in the world, form a beautiful picture in three words: *dulces . . . reminiſcitur . . . moriens.*

Theſe paſſages are very moving, becauſe the images they expreſs awaken the ſentiments of love and tenderneſs for one's country, which every man bears in his heart; and they have a nearer relation to that kind of emotions we are going to ſpeak of.

[*n*] Beſides this firſt ſpecies of the ſtrongeſt and moſt violent paſſions, which the rhetoricians call πάθος, there is another ſort they call ἦθος, which conſiſts in

[*i*] Pro Ligar. n. 3.

[*k*] Ita, quod exponebat, & ratione fecit credibile, & affectus quoque implevit. Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

[*l*] Æneid. l. 10. v. 782.

[*m*] Quid? Non idem poeta penitus ultimi fati cepit imaginem, ut diceret, *Et dulces moriens reminiſcitur Argos?* Ibid.

[*n*] Affectus igitur hos concitatos, illos mites atque compoſitos eſſe dixerunt: in altero vehementer commotos, in altero lenes: denique hos imperare, illos perſuadere: hos ad perturbationem, illas ad benevolentiam prævalere. Quint. l. 6. c. 3.

ſofter and more inſinuating ſentiments, and yet are not therefore leſs moving or lively; [o] the effect of which is not to overthrow and carry away every thing, as it were by main force; but to affect and ſoften, by inſinuating itſelf gently into the moſt inward receſſes of the auditors hearts. Theſe Paſſions are natural to thoſe who are united in ſome ſtrict union; a prince and his ſubjects, a father and his children, a tutor and his pupils, a benefactor and thoſe who receive the effects of his beneficence. Thoſe Paſſions conſiſt, with ſuperiors who have been injured, in a certain character of mildneſs, goodneſs, humanity, and patience, which is without gall and bitterneſs; can bear injuries, and forget them; and which cannot reſiſt prayers and tears; and with the culpable, in a readineſs in being made ſenſible of their faults: acknowledging them; teſtifying their grief for them; humbling and ſubmitting themſelves, and giving all the ſatisfaction that can be deſired. All this muſt be done after a plain and natural manner, without ſtudy and affectation; the air, the outward behaviour, the geſ-

[o] Ἦθος id erit, quod ante omnia bonitate commendabitur: non ſolum mite ac placidum, ſed plerumque blandum & humanum, & audientibus amabile atque jucundum. In quo exprimendo ſumma virtus ea eſt, ut fluere omnia ex naturâ rerum hominumque videantur, quo mores dicentis ex oratione pelluceant, & quodammodo agnoſcantur. Quod eſt ſine dubio inter conjunctas maxime perſonas, quoties perferimus, ignoſcimus, ſatisfacimus, monemus, procul ab irâ, procul ab odio. . . Hoc omne bonum & comem virum poſcit. Quint. l. 6. c. 3.

Duo ſunt, quæ bene tractata ab oratore admirabilem eloquentiam faciunt: quorum alterum eſt quod Græci ἠθικὸν vocant, ad naturam, & ad mores, & ad omnem vitæ conſuetudinem accommodatum: alterum quod iidem παθητικὸν nominant, quo perturbantur animi & concitantur, in quo uno regnat oratio. Illud ſuperius come, jucundum, ad benevolentiam conciliandam comparatum; hoc, vehemens, incenſum, incitatum, quo cauſæ erépiuntur: quod cum rapidè fertur, ſuſtineri nullo pacto poteſt. Orat. n. 128.

Non ſemper fortis oratio quæritur, ſed ſæpe placida, ſummiſſa, lenis, quæ maxime commendat reos. . . . Horum igitur exprimere mores oratione, juſtos, integros, religioſos, timidos, perferentes injuriarum, mirum quiddam valet: & hoc vel in principiis, vel in re narrandâ, vel in perorando, tantam habet vim, ſi eſt ſuaviter & cum ſenſu tractatum, ut ſæpe plus quam cauſu valeat. Tantum autem efficitur ſenſu quodam ac ratione dicendi, ut quaſi mores orationis effingat oratio. Genere enim quodam ſententiarum, & genere verborum, adhibita etiam actione leni, facilitateque ſignificandi, efficitur ut probi, ut bene morati, ut boni viri eſſe videantur. 2. de Orat. n. 183, 184.

ture,

ture, tone of voice, ſtyle, and every thing, muſt breathe ſomething inexpreſſibly ſoft and tender, which proceeds from the heart, and goes directly to it. The manners of the perſon who ſpeaks muſt ſhew themſelves in his diſcourſe, without his obſerving it. It is well known, that nothing is more amiable than ſuch a character, not only for eloquence, but in the ordinary commerce of life; and we cannot prompt youth too much to be attentive to it, to ſtudy and imitate it.

[p] We find a beautiful example of this in a homily of St. John Chryſoſtom to the people of Antioch. As this paſſage is very eloquent, and very fit to form the taſte of youth, ſuffer me to expatiate a little more upon it, than perhaps the matter I am now diſcuſſing requires; and to make a kind of an analyſis and epitome of it.

The emperor Theodoſius had ſent ſome officers and ſoldiers to Antioch, in order to puniſh that rebellious city for a ſedition, in which his own ſtatues and thoſe of his deceaſed conſort Flaccilla were thrown down. Flavian, biſhop of Antioch, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, notwithſtanding his very advanced age, and though his ſiſter was dying when he left her, ſet out immediately to implore that prince's clemency in favour of his people. Being come to the palace, and admitted into the emperor's preſence, he no ſooner perceived that prince, but he ſtopped at a diſtance with down-caſt eyes, ſhedding tears, covering his face, and ſtanding ſilent as though himſelf had been guilty. This is an artful exordium, and this ſilence is infinitely more eloquent than all the expreſſions he could uſe. And indeed St. Chryſoſtom obſerves, that, by this mournful and pathetic exterior, his deſign was to prepare the way for his oration, and to inſinuate himſelf into the emperor's heart inſenſibly, in order that ſentiments of lenity and compaſſion, which his cauſe required, might ſucceed to thoſe of anger and vengeance.

The emperor, ſeeing him in this condition, did not employ any harſh reproaches, which Flavian might na-

[p] Homil. 20.

turally expect. He did not say to him, What! are you come to crave pardon for rebels, for ungrateful wretches, for a people unworthy of life, and who merit the severest punishments? But, assuming a soft tone of voice, he made a long enumeration of all the good offices he had done for the city of Antioch; and, upon mentioning every one of those favours, he adds: Is this the acknowledgment I was to expect? What cause of complaint had its citizens against me? What injury had I done them? But why should they extend their insolence even to the dead? Had they received any wrong from them? What tenderness did I not shew for their city? Is it not notorious, that I loved it more than my own country, and that it gave me the greatest pleasure to think I should soon be in a condition of taking a journey to see it?

Then the holy bishop, being unable to bear such moving reproaches any longer, says with deep sighs: It is true, Sir, the goodness you have vouchsafed us could not be carried higher; which enhances our crime, and our grief: whatever punishment you may inflict upon us, it will still fall short of what we deserve. Alas! our present condition is no common degree of punishment; to have the whole earth know our ingratitude!

If the barbarians had demolished our city, it would still have had a resource, and some hopes, whilst it had you for a protector. But to whom shall it now have recourse, since it has made itself unworthy of your protection?

The envy of the devil, jealous of her happiness, has plunged her into this abyss of evils, out of which you alone can extricate her. I dare say it, Sir, it is your very affection that has brought them upon us, by exciting the jealousy of that wicked spirit against us. But, like God himself, you may draw infinite good out of the evil which Satan intended against us.

Your clemency on this occasion will be more honourable to you than the most celebrated victories. Your statues have been thrown down. If you pardon this

this crime, we will raiſe others in your honour, not of marble or braſs, which time deſtroys, but ſuch as will exiſt eternally in the hearts of all thoſe who ſhall hear of this action.

He afterwards propoſed the example of Conſtantine to him, who, being importuned by his courtiers to diſplay his vengeance on ſome ſeditious people that had diſfigured his ſtatues by throwing ſtones at them, did nothing more than ſtroke his face with his hand, and told them ſmiling, that he did not feel himſelf hurt.

He ſets before him his own clemency, and puts him in mind of one of his own laws, in which, after having ordered the priſons to be opened, and the criminals to be pardoned, at the feaſt of Eaſter, he added this memorable ſaying; *Would to God I were able in the ſame manner to open the graves, and reſtore the dead to life!* That time is come, Sir; you can now do it, &c.

He makes the honour of religion concerned in this affair. All the Jews and Heathens, ſays he, have their eyes upon you, and are waiting for the ſentence you will pronounce. If it is favourable to us, they will be filled with admiration, and cry out, Surely the God of the Chriſtians muſt be very powerful! He checks the anger of thoſe who acknowledge no maſter upon earth, and can transform men into angels.

After he had anſwered the objection that might be made with regard to the unhappy conſequences which were to be feared, if this crime ſhould eſcape with impunity; and likewiſe demonſtrated, that Theodoſius, by ſuch a rare example of clemency, might edify the whole earth, and inſtruct all future ages; he proceeds thus:

It will be infinitely glorious for you, Sir, to have granted this pardon at the requeſt of a miniſter of the Lord; and mankind will ſee, that, without conſidering the unworthineſs of the ambaſſador, you reſpected nothing in him but the power of the Maſter who ſent him.

For it is not only in the name of the inhabitants of Antioch, that I appear in this place; I am come from the ſovereign Lord of men and angels, to declare to you, that if you pardon men their faults, the heavenly Father will pardon yours. Call to mind, great prince, that tremendous day, when you will appear before the King of Kings, to give an account of your actions. You are going to pronounce your own ſentence. Other ambaſſadors uſed to diſplay magnificent preſents before the princes to whom they were ſent: as for me, I offer nothing to your majeſty but the holy book of the goſpels; and I dare exhort you to imitate your Maſter, who does good every day to thoſe who inſult him.

He at length concludes his diſcourſe, by aſſuring the emperor, that if he refuſed that unfortunate city the pardon ſhe ſued for, he would never return to it, nor ever conſider that city as his country, which the mildeſt prince upon earth looks upon with indignation, and could not prevail with himſelf to pardon.

Theodoſius was not able to reſiſt the force of this ſpeech. He could ſcarce ſuppreſs his tears; and, diſſembling the emotion he was in, as much as poſſible, he ſpoke theſe few words to the patriarch: If Jeſus Chriſt, God as he is, was willing to pardon the men who crucified him, ought I to make any difficulty to pardon my ſubjects who have offended me; I who am but a mortal man like them, and a ſervant of the ſame Maſter? Upon this Flavian proſtrated himſelf, wiſhing him all the proſperity he deſerved for this noble action. And as that prelate expreſſed a deſire of paſſing the feaſt of Eaſter at Conſtantinople, Go, father, ſays Theodoſius, embracing him, and do not delay one moment the conſolation which your people will receive by your return, and the aſſurances you will give of the pardon I grant them. I know they are ſtill grieved and afraid. Go then, and carry the pardon of their crime for the feaſt of Eaſter. Pray that God may bleſs my arms, and be aſſured, that, after this war, I will go in perſon, and comfort the city of Antioch.

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The holy prelate ſet out immediately; and, to haſten the joy of the citizens, he diſpatched a more expeditious courier than himſelf, who freed the city from its uneaſineſs and alarms.

I once more beg pardon for the length of this digreſſion. I imagined, that the extract of this eloquent homily might be as uſeful to youth, as any paſſage in profane authors. There would be room for many reflections, eſpecially on two characters, which, tho' ſeemingly incompatible, are united, however, in Flavian's oration; the humility and proſtrate ſubmiſſion of a ſuppliant, with the magnificence and greatneſs of a biſhop, but which are ſo modified, that they mutually ſupport each other. We at firſt behold the biſhop trembling, intreating, and, as it were, lying down at the emperor's feet. But afterwards, towards the end of the diſcourſe, he appears inveſted with all the ſplendor and majeſty of the Lord, whoſe miniſter he is. He commands, he threatens, he intimidates; but ſtill humble in his elevation. But I will content myſelf with the reflection which ariſes naturally from the ſubject that gave me occaſion to relate this ſtory. In my opinion, theſe two diſcourſes of Flavian and Theodoſius may be propoſed as an excellent model in this ſpecies of mild and tender paſſions. I do not pretend thereby to exclude the ſtrong and violent ones with which they are ſometimes blended; but, if I am not miſtaken, the former are predominant.

SECT. III.

Of the ELOQUENCE *of the* BAR.

THE rules I have hitherto given upon Eloquence, being for the moſt part borrowed from Cicero and Quintilian, who applied themſelves chiefly in forming orators for the Bar, might be ſufficient for ſuch young gentlemen as are deſigned for that honourable profeſſion. I thought, however, that I was obliged to add ſome more particular reflections, which may

may ſerve them as guides, to point out to them the paths they are to follow. I ſhall firſt examine what models muſt be propoſed to form the ſtyle ſuitable to the Bar, and will afterwards ſpeak of the means which youth may employ, to prepare themſelves for pleading. And I ſhall conclude with collecting ſome of Quintilian's fineſt obſervations upon the manners and character of pleaders.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the MODELS *of* ELOQUENCE *proper for the* BAR.

HAD we the harangues and pleadings of the great number of able orators, who for ſome years have made the French Bar ſo famous, and of thoſe who ſtill appear at it with ſo much luſtre, we ſhould be able to find in them certain rules and perfect models of Eloquence. But the few performances we have of this kind oblige us to have recourſe to the ſource itſelf; and to ſearch in Athens and Rome for thoſe things which the modeſty of our orators (perhaps exceſſive in this reſpect) does not permit us to find at home.

Demoſthenes and Cicero, by the conſent of all ages, and of all the learned, have been the moſt diſtinguiſhed for the Eloquence of the Bar; and conſequently their ſtyle may be propoſed to youth as a model they may ſafely imitate. It would be neceſſary, for that purpoſe, to make them well acquainted with it, to be careful in obſerving the character, and to make them ſenſible of the differences in it; but this cannot be done without reading and examining their works. Thoſe of Cicero are in every one's hands, and therefore well enough known. But it is not ſo with Demoſthenes's orations; and in an age ſo learned and polite as ours, it muſt ſeem aſtoniſhing, that ſince Greece has been always conſidered as the firſt and moſt perfect ſchool of Eloquence and good taſte, we ſhould be ſo careleſs, eſpecially with regard to the Bar, in conſulting

conſulting the great maſters ſhe has given us in that kind; and [q] that in caſe it was not thought neceſſary to beſtow much time upon their excellent leſſons, we ſhould not, at leaſt, have the curioſity to take but a curſory view of them; and hear them, as it were, at a diſtance, in order to examine ourſelves, if it be true, that the eloquence of thoſe famous orators is as admirable as it is declared to be; and if it fully anſwers the reputation they have acquired.

In order to enable young people, and thoſe who have not ſtudied Greek, to form ſome idea of Demoſthenes's ſtyle, I ſhall here tranſcribe ſeveral paſſages from his orations, which indeed will not be ſufficient to exhibit that great orator in the glorious light he ought to be ſhewn, nor perhaps to give models of his eloquence in all its kinds; but they will contribute at leaſt to diſplay ſome part of him, and his principal characteriſtics. I ſhall add to this, ſome paſſages from the harangue which Æſchines, his competitor and rival, pronounced againſt him, and borrow M. Tourreil's tranſlation; I mean the laſt, which is much more laboured, and more correct, than the former ones. I ſhall, however, ſometimes take the liberty to make a few ſmall alterations, becauſe, on one hand, there are a great number of low and trivial [r] expreſſions in it, and on the other, the ſtyle is ſometimes

[q] Ego idem exiſtimavi pecudis eſſe, non hominis, cùm tantas res Græci ſuſciperent, profiterentur, agerent . . . non admovere aurem, nec ſi palàm audire eos non auderes, ne minueres apud tuos cives auctoritatem tuam, ſubauſcultando tamen excipere voces eorum, & procul quid narrarent, attendere. 1. de Orat. n. 153.

[r] *Ce que nous demandons tous & à cor & à cri. . . . Le ſoin qu'ils ont de vous corner aux oreilles. . . . Si vous continuez à faineanter. . . Vous vous comportez au rebours de tous les autres hommes. . . . Vous ne ceſſez de m'aſſaſſiner de clabauderies eternelles. . . . Ils vous eſcamoteront les dix talens. . . Vous amuſer de fariboles. . . Il ſe ménagea un prompt rapatriement. . . . Que ſi le cœur vous en dit, je vous cede la tribune. . . . Mais tout compté, tout rabatu. . . . Non, en dûſſiez vous crever à force de l'aſſurer fauſſement. . . Vous vomiſſez des charetées d'injures. . .* I relate theſe few examples, from amongſt many others, in order to caution thoſe who may read this tranſlation, in other reſpects a very valuable performance, not to impute to the Greek orator, theſe and ſuch like defects in expreſſion.

too

too swelling and bombaſtic [s]; faults directly contrary to the character of Demoſthenes, whoſe eloquence was at the ſame time very ſimple and very magnificent. M. de Maucroy has tranſlated ſome of his orations. His verſion, though leſs correct in ſome paſſages, ſeems to be more agreeable to the genius of the Greek orator. I partly make uſe of it in the firſt extract I here give, which is taken from the firſt Philippic.

[s] I ſhall quote but one place, taken from the third Philippic. *De là il arrive, que dans vos aſſemblées, au bruit flateur d'une adulation continuelle, vous' vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté: mais que dans les conjonctures & dans les événemens vous courez les derniers périls.* The original of the firſt part, which alone admits of any difficulty, runs thus: εἶθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολατεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν. Wolfius tranſlates it in this manner: *Unde id conſequimini, ut in concionibus faſtidiatis, aſſentationibus deliniti, & omnia, quæ voluptati ſunt, audiatis.* This is the true ſenſe of the words, and is accordingly followed by M. Maucroy. *Vous vous rendez difficiles dans vos aſſemblées: vous voulez y être flatés, & qu'on ne vous tienne que des propos agréables. Cependant cette delicateſſe vous a conduits ſur le bord du précipice.* What has deceived M. Tourreil, is the word τρυφᾶν, which is commonly rendered by *deliciis abundare, diffluere, in deliciis vivere.* Altho' it would bear this ſenſe here, he ought not to have expreſſed it by theſe pompous terms: *vous vous endormez tranquillement entre les bras de la volupté:* which, joined to what goes before, *au bruit flateur d'une adulation continuelle,* forms a ſtyle quite oppoſite to that of Demoſthenes, whoſe manly nervous eloquence does not admit of ſuch ornaments. Luxury and the love of pleaſure were not then the character of the Athenians; and beſides, what connection could they have with the public aſſemblies? It is much more natural, that the Athenians, puffed up by the continual encomiums their orators made them, of their great power, their ſuperior merit, the exploits of their anceſtors, and, long accuſtomed to ſuch flatteries, did on one hand look big in their aſſemblies, and aſſume haughty and diſdainful airs towards an enemy whom they deſpiſed; tho' on the other, they were arrived at that degree of delicacy, that they would not ſuffer their orators to tell them the truth. For I think that τρυφᾶν may admit of a twofold ſenſe in this place.

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EXTRACTS *from* DEMOSTHENES *and* ÆSCHINES.

From THE FIRST PHILIPPIC *of* DEMOSTHENES.

M. Tourreil places this harangue at the head of the reſt.

DEMOSTHENES, in this oration, animates the Athenians with hopes of better ſucceſs hereafter in the war againſt Philip, in caſe they will follow his example, by applying themſelves ſeriouſly to the management of their affairs.

" If you reſolve, ſays he, to imitate Philip, which " you have not done hitherto; if every one will act " with ſincerity for the public good; the wealthy by " contributing part of their eſtates, and the young " men by their ſwords; in a word, if you will de- " pend on yourſelves only, and ſuppreſs that indolent " diſpoſition which ties up your hands, in expectation " of ſome foreign ſuccours; you then will ſoon, by " the aſſiſtance of the gods, retrieve your loſſes, and " atone for your faults, and will be revenged of your " enemies. For, do not think, Athenians, that Phi- " lip is a god, who enjoys immutable felicity. He " is dreaded, hated, and envied, by thoſe who are " beſt affected to his intereſt; and indeed, we muſt " preſume they have like paſſions with the reſt of " mankind. But all theſe ſentiments ſeem at preſent " extinguiſhed, and that becauſe your ſlow and indo- " lent conduct gives them no opportunity of exert- " ing themſelves; and it is to this you muſt apply a " remedy.

" For obſerve, my countrymen, the low condition " to which you are reduced, and to what a height " this man's inſolence is riſen. He will not allow " you the liberty of determining for peace or war. " He threatens you; he ſpeaks, as it is ſaid, with an " arrogant and haughty tone: he is not ſatisfied with

" his

" his former conqueſts, but is every day acquiring " more; and whilſt you are dilatory and unactive, he " ſurrounds and inveſts you on all ſides.

" When, Athenians, when will you act as you " ought to do? What event do you wait for? What " neceſſity muſt compel you to it? Alas! is there " not neceſſity ſufficient at this very time? For, in " my opinion, none is more urgent to a free people, " than when they are ſurrounded with ſhame and ig- " nominy. Will you for ever do nothing but walk " up and down the city aſking one another, what news? " What news! Is there any thing more new, than to " ſee a man of Macedonia become maſter of the Athe- " nians, and give laws to all Greece? Is Philip dead? " ſays one. No, replies another, he is only ſick. " Whether he be ſick or dead, what is that to the " purpoſe; ſince, were he no more, you would ſoon " raiſe up another Philip by your bad conduct; for " his grandeur is much more owing to your indolence, " than to his own valour."

EXTRACT *from* THE SECOND OLYNTHIAN.

It is generally ranked the THIRD.

Demoſthenes compares the preſent condition of the Athenians to the glory of their anceſtors.

" Our anceſtors, who were neither flattered by their " orators, nor loved by them, as you are by yours, " governed Greece during ſixty-five years, with the " unanimous conſent of the whole nation, put above " ten thouſand talents into the public treaſury; ex- " erciſed ſuch a power over the king of Macedon, as " becomes the Greeks to exerciſe over a barbarian; " raiſed great numbers of magnificent trophies for " the victories they had gained in perſon, both by " ſea and land; they only, of the whole race of men, " tranſmitted to their poſterity, by their great ex- " ploits, a glory ſuperior to envy itſelf. Such were " theſe perſonages at that time, with regard to Greece.

" Let

" Let us now examine their public and private life in
" thoſe days. Their magiſtrates erected many noble
" edifices for our uſe, and adorned our temples with
" ſuch a number of rich ornaments, that none will
" be able to ſurpaſs them hereafter in magnificence.
" As to their private behaviour, they were ſo tempe-
" rate, and adhered ſo ſtrictly to our antient ſim-
" plicity of manners, that, if any of you happens
" to know the houſes inhabited once by Ariſtides,
" Miltiades, or any other of their illuſtrious cotem-
" poraries, he does not ſee them diſtinguiſhed by
" their ſplendor from the others in their neighbour-
" hood. For, in the management of public affairs,
" they thought themſelves obliged to aggrandize the
" ſtate, and not their families. By this means they
" arrived at the meridian of felicity, and that deſerv-
" edly, by faithfully conſulting the common good of
" Greece, an exemplary piety towards the gods, and
" living with their fellow-citizens in a modeſt equality.
" Such was the condition of your forefathers, under
" ſuch worthy leaders; but what is yours at this time,
" under theſe ſoft-tongued orators who govern you?
" Does it bear the leaſt reſemblance to it? I will not
" inſiſt upon the parallel, though the ſubject opens a
" large field ———

" But ſome will anſwer me, and ſay, Tho' things
" don't go on well abroad, they are in a much better
" condition at home. But what proofs can be
" brought of this? Why, ſome battlements have been
" whitened, ſome highways repaired, and ſome aque-
" ducts built; with ſuch like trifles. Caſt your eyes,
" I beſeech you, upon thoſe men, to whom you owe
" theſe rare monuments of their adminiſtration.
" Some of them were raiſed from poverty to affluence,
" others from obſcurity to ſplendor; ſome again
" have built private houſes ſo magnificent, that they
" ſeem to inſult even the public edifices; and the
" lower the fortune of the ſtate has ſunk, the higher
" has that of ſuch people riſen. To what then muſt
" we impute this entire ſubverſion of things in our
" days;

" days; and why is that wonderful order, which was " formerly ſeen in all things, now changed for con- " fuſion? The reaſon is this: firſt, becauſe the peo- " ple, at that time, having valour equal to military " employments, kept the magiſtrates dependent on " them, and had the entire diſpoſal of all offices and " favours; and every citizen thought it a merit to " receive honours, employments, or good offices, " from the people. But now it is quite otherwiſe; " for the magiſtrates confer all favours, and exerciſe " a deſpotic power; while you, unhappy people, " enervated and deſpoiled both of treaſure and alli- " ances, are merely but as ſo many lacqueys, and in " a manner only a more numerous mob; and think " yourſelves doubly happy, if your magiſtrates do " but indulge you the two oboli for the theatre, and " the mean entertainment they provide for you upon " rejoicing days. And, to complete your baſeneſs, " you laviſh the title of benefactors upon thoſe who " give you nothing but what is your own; and who, " after impriſoning you, as it were, within your own " walls, lay baits for, and ſoften you in this manner, " with no other view but to prepare you for ſlavery."

EXTRACT *of the* HARANGUE *concerning the* CHERSONESUS.

The penſioners which Philip kept at Athens were perpetually endeavouring to find out expedients for diſpoſing the people to peace; but Demoſthenes diſcovers their treachery and artifices.

" [*t*] I ſhall only obſerve, that, as ſoon as this " diſcourſe againſt Philip was begun, one of thoſe " mercenaries roſe up and cried out, *What a bleſſed* " *thing is peace! how difficult to ſupport great armies!* " *Our treaſury is in danger:* and they amuſe you with " ſuch diſcourſes, by which they cool your zeal, and " give Philip an opportunity of effecting his pur- " poſes without difficulty.... But it is not you who

[*t*] Towards the end of the harangue.

" need

" need to be perſuaded to peace; you, I ſay, who,
" being already but too much influenced that way,
" loiter here in indolence; it is that man who breathes
" nothing but war. . . Beſides, we ought not to con-
" ſider what is employed for our ſafety as a hardſhip,
" but that which we ſhall ſuffer in caſe we neglect to
" ſecure ourſelves in time. As to the ſquandering
" of the public monies, this muſt be remedied by
" propoſing the beſt means of preventing it for the
" future, and not by perſuading you to abandon en-
" tirely your own intereſt.

" As to myſelf, Athenians, I am filled with indig-
" nation to ſee ſome of you make ſuch a noiſe about
" ſquandering the public funds (which may be recti-
" fied by puniſhing the offenders in an exemplary
" manner,) becauſe their private intereſt ſuffers by it;
" and not ſay one word, at the ſame time, of Philip,
" who plunders all Greece ſucceſſively, and that to
" your prejudice. Whence can it proceed, my coun-
" trymen, that, while Philip is diſplaying his banners
" in the face of the whole world, committing vio-
" lences, and ſeizing fortreſſes; none of theſe people
" has ever thought fit to ſay, that man acts unjuſtly,
" and commits hoſtilities? And that, when you are
" adviſed not to ſuffer ſuch outrages, but to put a ſtop
" to them, theſe very people cry out immediately,
" that you are going to kindle the flames of a war
" which were extinguiſhed?

" What! ſhall we ſay again, that to adviſe you to
" defend yourſelves, is kindling a war? If that be
" the caſe, then there is nothing but ſlavery for you.
" For there is no other medium, if we neglect on the
" one hand to repel violence; and, on the other, the
" enemy will not grant us a truce. Our danger too
" differs very much from that of the other Greeks;
" for Philip will not be barely ſatisfied with enſlaving
" Athens, he will deſtroy it; for he knows very well
" you will never ſubmit to ſlavery; and that, tho'
" you would do this, you never could, for command
" and authority are habitual to you; and beſides,

" you will be capable of giving him more trouble and " oppoſition than all the reſt of the Greeks united, " whenever you ſhall think fit to lay hold of any oc- " caſion to throw off the yoke. It muſt then be laid " down as a certain maxim, that our whole fortune is " at ſtake, and that you cannot too much abhor the " mercenaries who have ſold themſelves to this man; " for it is not poſſible, no, it is not, to vanquiſh your " foreign enemies, till you have chaſtiſed your domeſ- " tic foes, who are his penſioners; ſo that, whilſt you " will bulge againſt thoſe as againſt ſo many rocks, " you will never attempt to act againſt the other, till " it be too late."

From the THIRD PHILIPPIC.

" Make this reflection, I beſeech you; you think " the privilege of ſaying any thing is ſo inherent in " every man who breathes the air of Athens, that you " ſuffer foreigners and ſlaves to deliver their thoughts " on every ſubject; inſomuch that ſervants are here " indulged a greater liberty in that particular, than " citizens in ſome other commonwealths. It is from " the *roſtra* only, that the freedom of ſpeech is de- " nied. Hence it is that you are grown ſo unaccount- " ably haughty in your aſſemblies, and ſo difficult to " be pleaſed. You would always be flattered in them, " and hear nothing but what ſoothes you: and it is " this pride and delicacy have brought you to the " brink of deſtruction. If then you remain ſtill in " the ſame diſpoſition, I have nothing to do but to be " ſilent. But, if you can prevail with yourſelves to " liſten to what is for your advantage, without flat- " tery, I am ready to ſpeak. For, notwithſtanding " the deplorable condition of our affairs, and the ſeve- " ral loſſes we have ſuſtained thro' our neglect, they " may yet be retrieved, provided you determine to act " as you ought in duty.

" You know, that whatever the Greeks ſuffered " from the Lacedæmonians, or from us, they ſuffered

" by

" by thoſe who were Greeks as well as themſelves ;
" ſo that we may compare our faults to thoſe of a ſon,
" who, being born in a rich family, ſhould err againſt
" ſome maxim of good œconomy. Such a ſon would
" juſtly deſerve the reproachful name of a ſquanderer ;
" but it could not be juſtly aſſerted, that he had ſeized
" upon another man's right, or that he was not the
" lawful heir. But if a ſlave, or a ſuppoſititious child,
" would ſeize an eſtate he had no manner of title to,
" juſt heavens ! would not ſuch an enormity raiſe the
" whole world againſt him ? and would they not cry
" out with one voice, that it deſerved exemplary pu-
" niſhment ? But we do not conſider Philip, and his
" preſent conduct, in that light. Philip, who, be-
" ſides his not being a Greek, is no ways allied to the
" Greeks by any kind of relation, and is not diſtin-
" guiſhed even amongſt the barbarians by any thing
" but his being denominated from the contemptible
" place whence he comes ; and being a wretched Ma-
" cedonian by his birth, came into the world in a
" corner whence we never buy even a good ſlave.
" Notwithſtanding this, does he not treat you with
" the utmoſt indignity ? Is it not arrived at its higheſt
" pitch ? Not content," &c.

The *Extracts* which follow, being taken from the orations of Æſchines and Demoſthenes *de Coronâ*, it will be neceſſary to give the reader ſome idea of the ſubject. This Cicero informs us of in his preamble to thoſe two orations, when he tranſlated them ; and this is the only fragment now remaining of that excellent work.

Demoſthenes was entruſted with the care of repairing the walls of Athens, which he accompliſhed with great honour and reputation, having contributed a great deal of his own fortune towards it. Cteſiphon decreed a crown of gold to him on that account ; propoſed it ſhould be preſented in the open theatre, in a general aſſembly of the people ; and that the herald ſhould proclaim it was to reward the zeal and probity of that orator. Æſchines accuſed Cteſiphon, as hav-

ing violated the laws by that decree ——— " [*u*] So " extraordinary a conteſt raiſed the curioſity of all " Greece: people ran from all parts, and with rea- " ſon too. What finer ſight than to ſee two orators " contending, each excelling in his own way; form- " ed by nature, made perfect by art, and beſides " animated with a perſonal enmity to each other."

EXTRACTS *of* ÆSCHINES'S HARANGUE.

Æſchines, after having repreſented, in the begin- ning of the exordium, the irregularities introduced in the commonwealth, and their pernicious tendency, proceeds thus.

" In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, and in ſuch diſor- " ders, of which you yourſelves are ſenſible; the " only method of ſaving the wrecks of the govern- " ment, is, if I miſtake not, to allow full liberty to " accuſe thoſe who have invaded your laws. But, if " you ſhut them up, or ſuffer others to do this, I pro- " pheſy that you will fall inſenſibly, and that very " ſoon, under a tyrannical power. For you know, " Athenians, that government is divided into three " kinds; Monarchy, Oligarchy, and Democracy. " As to the two former, they are governed at the " will and pleaſure of thoſe who reign in either; " whereas eſtabliſhed laws only reign in a popular " ſtate. That none of you therefore may be igno- " rant, but, on the contrary, that every one may be " entirely aſſured, that the day he aſcends the ſeat of " juſtice, to examine an accuſation upon the invaſion " of the laws, that very day he goes to give judg- " ment upon his own independence.... And indeed, " the legiſlature, who is convinced, that a free ſtate " can ſupport itſelf no longer than the laws govern, " takes particular care to preſcribe this form of an " oath to judges, *I will judge according to the laws.*

[*u*] Ad hoc judicium concurſus dicitur è totâ Greciâ factus eſſe. Quid enim aut tam viſendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam ſummorum oratorum, in graviſſimâ cauſâ, accurata & inimicitiis incenſa contentio? Cic. de opt. gen. Orat. n. 22.

" The

" The remembrance therefore of this, being deeply " implanted in your minds, muſt inſpire you with a " juſt abhorrence of any perſons whatſoever, who dare " tranſgreſs them by raſh decrees; and that, far from " ever looking upon a tranſgreſſion of this kind as a " ſmall fault, you always conſider it as an enormous " and capital crime. . . Do not ſuffer then, any one to " make you depart from ſo wiſe a principle. . . . But " as, in the army, every one of you would be aſhamed " to quit the poſt aſſigned him by the general; ſo " let every one of you be this day aſhamed to aban- " don the poſt which the laws have given you in the " commonwealth. What poſt? that of protectors of " the government."

This compariſon, which is very beautiful and noble in itſelf, has a peculiar grace in this place, preſenting, as it were, two faces to us; for at the ſame time that it affects the judges, it reflects ſtrongly on Demoſthenes's cowardice, againſt whom it points a ſatyrical ſtroke, which is the more delicate and malicious, the more remote it ſeems to be from all affectation. It is well known, that he had abandoned his poſt and fled at the battle of Chæronea. This judicious obſervation was made by M. Tourreil.

" Muſt we, in your perſon (addreſſing himſelf to " Demoſthenes) crown the author of the public cala- " mities, or muſt we deſtroy him? And indeed, what " unexpected revolutions, what unthought-of cataſ- " trophes, have we not ſeen in our days?—The king " of Perſia, that king who opened a paſſage through " mount Athos; who bound the Helleſpont in chains; " who was ſo imperious as to command the Greeks " to acknowledge him ſovereign both of ſea and " land; who in his letters and diſpatches preſumed " to ſtile himſelf the ſovereign of the world from the " riſing to the ſetting of the ſun; and who fights " now, not to rule over the reſt of mankind, but to " ſave his own life; do not we ſee thoſe very men, " who ſignalized their zeal in the relief of Delphos, " inveſted both with the glory, for which that power-

" ful king was once ſo conſpicuous, and with the " title of chief of the Greeks, againſt him? As to " Thebes, which borders upon Attica, have we not " ſeen it diſappear in one day from the midſt of " Greece? . . . And, with regard to the unhappy " Lacedæmonians, what calamities have not befallen " them only for taking but a ſmall part of the ſpoils " of the temple? They who formerly aſſumed a ſu- " periority over Greece, are they not now going to " ſend ambaſſadors to Alexander's court, to bear the " name of hoſtages in his train; to become a ſpecta- " cle of miſery; to bow the knee before the monarch, " ſubmit themſelves and their country to his mercy; " and receive ſuch laws as a conqueror, a conqueror " they attacked firſt, ſhall think fit to preſcribe them? " Athens itſelf, the common refuge of the Greeks; " Athens formerly peopled with ambaſſadors, who " flocked to claim its mighty protection; is not this " city now obliged to fight, not to obtain a ſuperio- " rity over the Greeks, but to preſerve itſelf from de- " ſtruction? Such are the misfortunes which Demoſ- " thenes has brought upon us, ſince his intermeddling " with the adminiſtration.—

" But you, who of all men are the moſt unfit to " ſignalize yourſelves by great and memorable actions, " and at the ſame time the fitteſt to diſtinguiſh your- " ſelves by raſh ſpeeches; dare you, and that in the " preſence of this auguſt aſſembly, aſſert, that we muſt " beſtow a crown, at your interceſſion, on the perſon " who has occaſioned all the public calamities? And " if this man ſhall preſume ſo far, will you ſuffer it, " gentlemen, and ſhall the memory of thoſe great " men who died in the field for their country, die " with them? I beg you, for a few moments, to con- " vey yourſelves in imagination from the *roſtrum* to " the theatre, and imagine you ſee the herald ad- " vancing, and proclaiming the crown decreed to " Demoſthenes. On which occaſion do you think, " that the relations of thoſe citizens, who ſpilt their " blood for you, ought to ſhed moſt tears; either for

" the

" the tragical fate of thoſe heroes, which I ſhall re-
" preſent to you by-and-by, or for the enormous in-
" gratitude of the Athenians? Do not lay open again
" the deep and incurable wounds of the unhappy
" Thebans, who through Demoſthenes are become
" fugitives, and have been received by you into this
" city. But ſince you were not preſent at their ca-
" taſtrophe, endeavour, at leaſt, to form ſome image
" of it, and repreſent to yourſelves a city taken, walls
" levelled, houſes reduced to aſhes, mothers and
" children dragged into ſlavery, old men and women
" forced to be ſervants at the end of their days,
" drowned in tears, imploring your juſtice, breaking
" out into reproaches, not againſt the actors, but
" againſt the authors of the cruel vengeance, which
" they felt; earneſtly preſſing you to be ſo far from
" conferring any kind of reward upon the deſtroyer
" of Greece, that you would preſerve yourſelves
" from the curſe, the fatality, inſeparable from his
" perſon.

" Imagine then, Athenians, when he ſhall invite
" the confidents and accomplices of his abject perfidy
" to range themſelves around him towards the cloſe of
" his harangue, imagine then, on your ſide, that you
" ſee the antient benefactors of this commonwealth
" drawn up in battle-array, round this *roſtrum* where
" I am now ſpeaking, in order to repulſe that auda-
" cious band. Imagine you hear Solon, who ſtrength-
" ened the popular government by ſuch excellent
" laws, that philoſopher, that incomparable legiſla-
" tor, conjuring you with a gentleneſs and modeſty
" becoming his character, not to ſet a higher value
" upon Demoſthenes's oratorial flouriſhes, than upon
" your oaths and your laws. Imagine you hear Ariſ-
" tides, who made ſo exact and juſt a diviſion of the
" contributions impoſed upon the Greeks for the
" common cauſe; that ſage diſpenſer, who left no
" other inheritance to his daughters but the public
" gratitude, which was their portion; imagine, I
" ſay, you hear him bitterly bewailing the outrageous

" manner in which we trample upon juſtice, and " ſpeaking to you in theſe words: What! becauſe " when Arthmius of Zelia, that Aſiatic, who paſſed " through Athens, where he even enjoyed the rights " of hoſpitality, brought gold from the Medes into " Greece, your anceſtors were going to ſend him to " the place of execution, and baniſhed him, not only " from their city, but from all the countries depen- " dent on them; and will not you bluſh to decree " Demoſthenes, who has not indeed brought gold " from the Medes, but has received ſuch ſums of " money from all parts to betray you, and now en- " joys the fruit of his treaſures; will not you, I ſay, " bluſh to decree a crown of gold to Demoſthenes? " Do you think, that Themiſtocles, and the heroes " who were killed in the battles of Marathon and " Platæa, do you think the very tombs of your an- " ceſtors will not ſend forth groans, if you crown a " man, who, by his own confeſſion, has been for ever " conſpiring with barbarians to ruin Greece?

" As to myſelf, O earth! O ſun! O virtue! and " you, who are the ſprings of true diſcernment, lights " both natural and acquired, by which we diſtinguiſh " good from evil, I call you to witneſs, that I have " uſed all my endeavours to relieve the ſtate, and to " plead her cauſe. I could have wiſhed my ſpeech " had been equal to the greatneſs and importance of " the ſubject; at leaſt, I can flatter myſelf with hav- " ing diſcharged my duty according to my abilities, " if I have not done it according to my wiſhes. Do " you, gentlemen, from the reaſons you have heard, " and thoſe which your wiſdom will ſuggeſt; do you " pronounce ſuch a judgment as is conformable to ſtrict " juſtice, and the common good demands from you."

EXTRACTS *of* DEMOSTHENES'S HARANGUE *for* CTESIPHON.

" I begin with intreating all the gods and all the " goddeſſes, that they would inſpire you, Athenians,

" in

" in this cauſe, with a benevolence towards me, pro-
" portionate to my conſtant zeal for the common-
" wealth in general, and for every one of you in par-
" ticular: afterwards (which is of the utmoſt conſe-
" quence to your perſons, your conſciences, and your
" honour) I crave of the ſame deities, that they would
" fix you in the reſolution of conſulting upon the
" manner of hearing me, not my accuſer, (for you
" could not do that without partiality) but your laws
" and your oaths, the form of which, among other
" terms, (all dictated by juſtice,) is as follows: *Hear*
" *both parties equally*; which obliges you to come
" with an unbiaſſed mind and heart to the tribunal,
" and to allow each of the parties to draw up his
" reaſons and proofs in whatever manner he ſhall
" think fit [*x*].

" Now, my countrymen, among the many diſad-
" vantages on my ſide in this cauſe, there are two
" particularly, and two very terrible ones, which
" make my condition much worſe than his. The firſt
" is, that we run very unequal riſques; for now I
" hazard much more in loſing your good will, than
" he does, ſhould he fail to make good the charge;
" ſince I am to . . . But I will not ſuffer one word to
" fall from me in the beginning of my diſcourſe, that
" preſages any thing ſiniſter. He, on the contrary,
" attacks me through wantonneſs, and without any
" neceſſity for ſo doing. The other diſadvantage I
" lie under, is, that all men are naturally inclinable
" to hear an accuſer with pleaſure; while, on the
" other hand, they hear thoſe who boaſt or magnify
" themſelves, with indignation. He therefore acts
" a part that pleaſes univerſally; whereas almoſt eve-
" ry thing which falls to my lot, is what generally
" makes every man an enemy. But if, on one hand,
" the fear of incurring indignation, which is inſepa-
" rable from ſelf-applauſe, ſhould oblige me to be
" ſilent on my own actions; it will be thought that I

[*x*] Æſchines pretended to point out the order which Demoſthenes was to obſerve in his pleading.

" can

" can neither refute him who reproaches me with " crimes, nor juſtify the perſon who decrees rewards " for me. On the other, if I ſhould diſcuſs the ſer- " vices I have done during my adminiſtration, I " ſhall be forced to ſpeak of myſelf frequently. I " ſhall therefore endeavour, in this dangerous dilem- " ma, to behave with all poſſible moderation; but " whatever the neceſſity of my own defence may ex- " tort from me, this ought in juſtice to be imputed " only to the aggreſſor, who voluntarily impoſed it " upon me.

" But in ſpite of thoſe facts, inconteſtable, and cer- " tified, as it were, by the mouth of truth itſelf, " Æſchines has ſo far renounced all ſhame, that, not " content to proclaim me the author of ſuch a peace " as he has mentioned, he is ſo audacious as to tax " me likewiſe with preventing the commonwealth " from concerting it with the general aſſembly of the " Greeks. . . . But did you, O! . . . (what title ſhall " I give you?) did you betray the leaſt ſhadow of " diſpleaſure againſt me, when I broke the cords of " that harmony in your preſence, and diſpoſſeſſed the " commonwealth of the advantages of that confede- " racy, which you now magnify ſo much, with the " loudeſt ſtrains of your theatrical voice [*y*]? Did " you aſcend the *roſtrum?* Did you denounce, or once " explain, theſe crimes, with which you are now " pleaſed to charge me? Surely then, if I could have " forgot my duty ſo far as to ſell myſelf to Philip, in " order to exclude the Greeks from participating in " that peace, you ought then to have exclaimed, " proteſted, and diſcovered my prevarications to " thoſe who now hear me; but you never did any " thing of this kind, nor did any perſon living hear " you ſay one ſyllable tending this way. . . .

" But if Philip was conſtantly depriving all ſtates, " without exception, of their honour, prerogatives, " liberty, or rather ſubverting as many common- " wealths as he could; did not you, Athenians, form

[*y*] Æſchines had been a comedian.

" thoſe

" thoſe very arguments, which undoubtedly were the
" moſt glorious to you, through your regard for my
" advice! Tell us, Æſchines, how Athens ſhould
" have behaved in Philip's ſight, when he ſet all en-
" gines at work, to eſtabliſh his empire and tyranny
" over the Greeks? Or what counſels and reſolutions
" ſhould I, who was the miniſter, have propoſed, eſ-
" pecially in Athens (for the circumſtances of place
" require a particular attention) I, who was intimately
" ſenſible, that my country had at all times, even till
" the day I firſt aſcended the tribunal, perpetually
" fought for ſuperiority, for honour and glory; and
" that it alone had, through a noble emulation, ſacri-
" ficed more men and money for the general good of
" the Greeks, than any other of the Grecian ſtates
" had ever ſacrificed for their own private advantage?
" I, who beſides ſaw this ſame Philip, with whom we
" contended for ſovereignty and empire; ſaw him,
" though covered with wounds, his eye beat out, his
" collar-bone broken, his hand and leg maimed, ſtill
" reſolved to plunge himſelf amidſt dangers, and
" ready to give up to fortune whatever other part of
" his body ſhe ſhould require, provided he could live
" honourably and glorioufly with the remainder?
" Now, certainly no man dares to ſay, that a barba-
" rian, educated in Pella (then a contemptible and
" obſcure place) could poſſibly poſſeſs a ſoul haughty
" enough to deſire and undertake the conqueſt of
" the Greeks; but for you, though Athenians, for
" you, who every day hear the virtue of your anceſ-
" tors diſplayed either by your orators in the *roſtrum*,
" or by your actors upon the ſtage; for you, I ſay,
" to carry meanneſs of ſoul and cowardice ſo far, as
" to abandon and make a voluntary ſurrender of the
" liberties of Greece to Philip; no man living will
" ever be ſo audacious as to make ſuch a ſtrange
" propoſal.

" Cenſure me, Æſchines, for the advice I gave;
" do not aſperſe me for the event: for the Supreme
" Being unravels and terminates every thing at plea-
" ſure;

" ſure; whereas we muſt judge from the nature of " the advice or the opinions themſelves, of him who " gives them. If therefore Philip has been a con- " queror, do not impute it to me as a crime ſince " God diſpoſed of the victory, and not I. But ſhew " me what it is that I did not purſue with an integrity, " a vigilance, and an indefatigable activity, ſuperior " to my ſtrength; ſhew me that I did not practiſe all " the expedients which human prudence could em- " ploy; that I did not inſpire noble and neceſſary re- " ſolutions, and ſuch as were worthy of Athens; and " after this give a full ſcope to your accuſations. " But if a ſudden thunderbolt, or a tempeſt, ſhould " ſtrike you to the ground, Athenians, and not only " you, but all the reſt of the Grecians, how can this " be helped? Muſt the innocent be ſacrificed? If the " owner of a veſſel had fitted it out with every thing " neceſſary, and provided to the utmoſt of his power " againſt the dangers of the ſea; and that a ſtorm " ſhould afterwards ariſe, and break the maſts; would " any one in that caſe accuſe him with being the cauſe " of the ſhipwreck? But he would ſay, I did not com- " mand the veſſel. Nor did I command the army: I " did not diſpoſe of fortune; on the contrary, it was " fortune diſpoſed of every thing.

" Since therefore he inſiſts ſo ſtrenuouſly upon " events, I am not afraid of advancing a kind of pa- " radox. Let none of us, in the name of Jupiter " and the other gods, be ſtartled at the apparent hy- " perbole; but let him examine equitably what I am " going to ſay: for if all the Athenians had diſco- " vered future events by a prophetic ſpirit; that all " had foreſeen them; and that you, Æſchines, who " did not ſpeak a ſingle word, had foretold and cer- " tified them with your thunder-like voice; Athens, " even in that caſe, ought not to have changed its " meaſures, had it ever ſo little regard to its glory, " its anceſtors, or the judgment of poſterity. For " now Athens ſeems, at moſt to be fallen from its " greatneſs; a misfortune common to all mortals,

" whenever

" whenever it ſo pleaſes the Supreme Being. But a
" commonwealth, that thought itſelf at that time
" worthy of a ſuperiority over all the reſt of the Greeks,
" could not part with ſuch a right, without incurring
" the juſt reproach of delivering them all up to Philip:
" ſince in caſe Athens had quitted, without a blow,
" a prerogative which our anceſtors had purchaſed at
" all hazards, how would you, Æſchines, have been
" covered with ſhame? For moſt certainly, that ſhame
" could not have reflected either upon the common-
" wealth, or upon me. Great God! with what eyes
" could we look upon this innumerable multitude
" which come from all parts to Athens, if things had
" been brought to the low ebb we now ſee them at,
" by our fault, or wrong management; had we choſen
" Philip as the chief and arbiter of all Greece; had
" we ſuffered others to hazard a battle without us, in
" order to prevent ſuch a calamity; eſpecially ſince
" we call ourſelves inhabitants of a city, which choſe
" at all times rather to brave glorious dangers, than
" enjoy an ignominious ſecurity! For what Greek,
" what barbarian, does not know, that the Thebans,
" and before them the Lacedæmonians, when arrived
" at the meridian of power, and, laſtly, the Perſian
" king, would have willingly granted the common-
" wealth, not only the enjoyment of its own poſſeſſi-
" ons, but likewiſe every thing it could deſire, pro-
" vided it could have deſcended to ſubmit, and ſuffer
" any other to govern Greece? But ſuch ſentiments
" could not be admitted by Athenians (as appeared
" on thoſe occaſions,) either as hereditary, ſupporta-
" ble, or natural. And, ſince the firſt foundation
" of Athens, none could ever force it to make an ab-
" ject ſubmiſſion to tyrannical power, though ſuperior
" in ſtrength; nor to gain a baſe ſecurity by ſervile
" conceſſions. On the contrary, as Athens was in
" immemorial poſſeſſion of fighting for ſovereignty,
" for honour, and for glory; ſo it has at all times
" braved the greateſt dangers. . . If therefore I ſhould
" attempt to inſinuate, that my counſels determined

" you

" you to think like worthy deſcendents of your pre-
" deceſſors, every one might tax me juſtly with arro-
" gance. But I declare in this place, that if you
" formed ſuch reſolutions, the glory of them is yours;
" and I own, that the commonwealth had great and
" magnanimous ſentiments long before my time. The
" only thing I can boaſt of, is, that I co-operated in
" every thing that fell to my ſhare in the miniſtry.

" By the way, my countrymen, a citizen naturally
" virtuous (for when I ſpeak of myſelf, I make uſe
" of no other word, to avoid envy) poſſeſſes theſe
" two qualities: a ſteady and unſhaken courage in the
" exerciſe of authority, to ſupport the commonwealth
" in its ſuperiority; and a zeal that has been proof
" againſt every thing, in every conjuncture, and par-
" ticular action. For theſe ſentiments depend [z]
" upon us, being the gift of nature; but, as to force
" and power, thoſe we derive from other cauſes.
" Now certainly, that this zeal was never falſified in
" me, judge of it by my actions. My zeal for you
" was never leſſened on any occaſion, no, not when
" my head was demanded; nor when I was delivered
" up to the Amphictyons; nor when the greateſt
" efforts were made to ſhake me with threats; nor
" when endeavours were uſed to allure me with pro-
" miſes; nor when theſe curſed wretches, like ſo
" many wild beaſts, were let looſe upon me. As to
" the government, no ſooner had I a ſhare in it, than
" I followed the direct and juſt methods of preſerv-
" ing the ſtrength, glory, and prerogatives of my
" country; augmenting them, and devoting myſelf
" entirely to that ſtudy. Thus, when I find other
" powers proſper, I am never ſeen walking in the
" *forum*, with a ſerene and contented aſpect, ſaluting
" people with my hand, and telling good news with
" a congratulating voice to thoſe, who, I believe,
" will afterwards ſend it to Macedonia; nor am I ſeen
" trembling, ſighing, and with down-caſt eyes, upon
" hearing the ſucceſs of the Athenians, like thoſe

[z] That was the doctrine of the ſtoics.

" impious

" impious wretches who defame the commonwealth ;
" as though they did not defame themſelves by ſuch
" courſes. They have always their eye abroad, and
" when they ſee any potentate taking advantage of our
" misfortunes, they magnify his ſucceſſes, and give
" out, that all endeavours ſhould be uſed to eternize
" his victories.

" Immortal gods ! let none of you hear ſuch vows
" as theſe ; but rather rectify the minds and hearts of
" ſuch perverſe men. But if their inveterate malice
" is incurable, purſue them both by ſea and land,
" and extirpate them totally. As to us Athenians,
" avert, as ſoon as poſſible, the calamities which
" threaten us, and grant us entire ſecurity."

The ſucceſs of the two Orations.

Æſchines loſt his cauſe, and was baniſhed for his raſh accuſation. He ſettled at Rhodes, and ſet up a ſchool of eloquence, which maintained its glory for ſeveral ages. He began his lectures with the two orations which occaſioned his baniſhment. Great encomiums were given to his ; but when that of Demoſthenes was read, the acclamations were redoubled. [*a*] And it was upon this occaſion he ſaid (ſo laudable in an enemy and a rival) *But how wonderful would you have found it, had you heard it from his own mouth ?*

I did not pretend, that the paſſages I have now borrowed from the harangues of Æſchines and Demoſthenes, could alone give a juſt idea of thoſe two great orators ; for the moſt eſſential part of Eloquence, and, as it were, the ſoul of it, muſt neceſſarily be wanting in extracts taken from the body of an entire work. We neither ſee plan, deſign, order, or ſeries of the oration, in thoſe extracts ; nor the ſtrength, connexion, or diſpoſition of the proofs ; the marvellous art by which the orator ſometimes inſinuates himſelf gently into people's hearts ; and ſometimes enters with a kind of violence, and makes himſelf abſolute maſter over

[*a*] Valer. Max. lib. 8. c. 20.

them.

them. Beſides, no tranſlation can give the Attic purity, Eloquence and delicacy, of which the Greek language only is ſuſceptible, and which Demoſthenes had carried to the higheſt perfection. I had no other view in copying theſe extracts, but to enable ſuch readers as have not ſtudied Greek, to form ſome idea of the ſtyle of thoſe two orators. The advantageous judgments which the beſt writers in all ages have given us of it, will likewiſe contribute to ſhew their character, and may perhaps inſpire us with the deſire of taking a nearer view of perſons of ſuch uncommon merit, of whom ſo many wonders are related. M. de Tourreil has collected ſeveral, ſome of which I ſhall relate in this place.

I. *The* JUDGMENTS *of the* ANTIENTS *on* ÆSCHINES *and* DEMOSTHENES.

[*b*] Quintilian, whoſe opinion is no leſs clear than equitable, ſpeaks of them in this manner: "[*c*] A "croud of orators aroſe afterwards, of whom De- "moſthenes was the chief; the ſtandard which every "one muſt [*d*] neceſſarily follow who aſpires to true "Eloquence. His ſtyle is ſo ſtrong, ſo cloſe, and "[*e*] nervous, 'tis every where ſo juſt, ſo exactly "conciſe, that there's nothing too much or too little. "Æſchines is more diffuſive; he makes a greater fi- "gure, becauſe he is not ſo cloſe; he diſcovers a "greater fluſh of health, but his ſinews are not ſo "ſtrong and well compacted.

[*b*] Valer. Max. lib. 10. c. 10.

[*c*] Sequitur oratorum ingens manus. . . . quorum longe princeps Demoſthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit. Tanta vis in eo, tam denſa omnia, ita quibuſdam nervis intenta ſunt, tam nihil otioſum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quod deſit in eo, nec quod redundet, invenias. Plenior Æſchines, & magis ſuſus, & grandiori ſimilis, quo minùs ſtrictus eſt. Carnis tamen plus habet, lacertorum minus.

[*d*] Quintilian did not venture to ſay abſolutely, that Demoſthenes's orations were the ſtandard of Eloquence; he has ſoftened the reflection, *penè lex orandi fuit.*

[*e*] Tam denſa omnia, ita quibuſdam nervis intenta ſunt. *Il eſt ſi ſerré, ſi nerveux.* I do not know whether this metaphor is borrowed from the nerves of the body, or from a bow, the ſtring of which being ſtrongly ſtretched (*nervi*) puſhes the arrow forward with a prodigious force and impetuoſity.

"[*f*] When

" [*f*] What diſtinguiſhes the Eloquence of De-
" moſthenes, is the impetuoſity of the expreſſion, the
" choice of words, and the beauty of the diſpoſition;
" which being ſupported throughout, and accompa-
" nied with force and ſweetneſs, keeps the attention
" of the auditors perpetually fixed. Æſchines in-
" deed is leſs energetic; but he diſtinguiſhes himſelf
" by his diction, which he ſometimes adorns with the
" moſt noble and magnificent figures; and ſometimes
" ſeaſons with the moſt lively and ſtrong touches.
" We don't diſcover any art or labour in them; a
" happy facility, which nature only can beſtow, runs
" through the whole. He is bright and ſolid; he en-
" larges and amplifies, but is often cloſe; ſo that his
" ſtyle, which at firſt ſeems only flowing and ſweet,
" diſcovers itſelf, upon a nearer view, to be vehement
" and emphatic, in which Demoſthenes only ſurpaſſes
" him; ſo that Æſchines juſtly claims the ſecond place
" among orators.

" [*g*] I remember, ſays Cicero, that I preferred
" Demoſthenes to all other orators. He is adequate
" to the idea I had formed to myſelf of Eloquence;
" he attained to that degree of perfection which I
" conceive in thought, but find no where, except in
" him alone. Never had any orator more greatneſs
" and ſtrength, more art and cunning; nor more pru-
" dence and moderation in his ornaments. He ex-
" cels in every kind of Eloquence. . . . [*b*] He poſ-
" ſeſſes all the qualifications neceſſary for forming
" the orator. He is perfect. Whatever penetration,

[*f*] Dion. Halicarn. in his book called τῶν ἀρχαίων κρίσις, c. 5.

[*g*] Recordor me longè omnibus unum anteferre Demoſthenem, qui vim accommodârit ad eam quam ſentiam eloquentiam, non ad eam quam in aliquo ipſe cognoverim. Hoc nec gravior extitit quiſquam, nec callidior, nec temperatior. . . . Unus eminet inter omnes in omni genere dicendi. Orat. n. 23, & 104.

[*b*] Planè quidem perfectum, & cui nihil admodum deſit, Demoſthenem facilè dixeris. Nihil acutè inveniri potuit in eis cauſis quas ſcripſit, nihil (ut ita dicam) ſubdolè, nihil verſutè, quod ille non viderit; nihil ſubtiliter dici, nihil preſſè, nihil enucleatè, quo fieri poſſit aliquid limatius: nihil contrà grande, nihil incitatum, nihil ornatum vel verborum gravitate, vel ſententiarum, quo quidquam eſſet elatius, &c. Brut. n. 35.

" whatever refinement, whatever artifice, as it were, " and cunning, can ſuggeſt on any ſubject, theſe he " finds and employs with a juſtneſs, a brevity, and " clearneſs, which give us a ſatisfaction, towhich no- " thing can add. Are elevation, greatneſs, and vehe- " mence, neceſſary? He ſurpaſſes all others in the " ſublimity of his thoughts, and the magnificence of " his expreſſions. He is inconteſtably the firſt; none " equals him. Hyperides, Æſchines, Lycurgus, Di- " narchus, Demades, have no other merit but that of " coming neareſt to him.

" [*i*] That harangue (ſays Cicero in another place, " ſpeaking of Cteſiphon's defence) anſwers ſo effectu- " ally to the idea I have formed of perfect Eloquence, " that we can wiſh nothing more finiſhed."

Before I proceed to the character of Cicero's Eloquence, I think myſelf obliged to add here ſome reflections upon that of Demoſthenes.

It would, in my opinion, be renouncing of good ſenſe and ſound reaſon, to call in queſtion the ſuperior merit of the Greek orator, after the incredible ſucceſs he had in his time, and the noble encomiums which the beſt judges have been, in a manner, contending to beſtow upon him.

He ſpoke [*k*] before the moſt polite people that ever lived, and the moſt delicate and difficult to be pleaſed in point of Eloquence; a people ſo well acquainted with the beauties and graces of ſpeech, and the purity of diction, that their orators durſt not venture to uſe any doubtful or uncommon expreſſion, or any which might be the leaſt offenſive to ſuch nice and refined ears. Beſides, he lived in an age when the taſte of the beautiful, the true, and the ſimple, was

[*i*] Ea profectò oratio in eam formam, quæ eſt inſita in mentibus noſtris, includi ſic poteſt, ut major eloquentia non quæratur. Orat. n. 133.

[*k*] Athenienſium ſemper fuit prudens ſincerumque judicium, nihil ut poſſent niſi incorruptum audire & elegans. Eorum religioni cùm ſerviret orator, nullum verbum inſolens, nullum odioſum, ponere audebat. . . Ad Atticorum aures teretes & religioſas qui ſe accommodant, ii ſunt exiſtimandi Atticè dicere. Orat. n. 25, & 27.

in

in its utmoſt perfection. [*l*] Thrice happy age! which gave birth to a multitude of orators at the ſame time, every one of whom might have been looked upon as a complete model, had not Demoſthenes eclipſed them all, by the ſtrength of his genius, and the extraordinary ſuperiority of his merit.

All poſterity have done him the ſame juſtice, which even his own age did not deny him. But Cicero's judgment alone ſhould determine that of every judicious and equitable man. He is not a ſtupid admirer, who gives himſelf up to blind prejudices without examination. But how much ſoever, in Cicero's opinion, Demoſthenes excelled in every ſpecies of Eloquence, [*m*] he ſtill owns that he does not ſatisfy him in every particular, and that he left him ſomething to wiſh for; ſo delicate was he upon that point, and ſo ſublime and elevated was his idea of a perfect orator. However, he gives his orations, and eſpecially that for Cteſiphon, which, was his maſter-piece, as the moſt finiſhed models we can propoſe to ourſelves.

What is there then in his orations that is ſo admirable, and could ſeize the univerſal and unanimous applauſe of all ages? Is Demoſthenes an orator who amuſes himſelf barely with tickling the ear, by the ſound and harmony of periods; or does he impoſe upon the mind by a florid ſtyle, and ſhining thoughts? Such Eloquence may indeed dazzle and charm, the moment we hear it: but the impreſſion it makes is of a ſhort duration. What we admire in Demoſthenes is the plan, the ſeries, and the order and diſpoſition of the oration; it is the ſtrength of the proofs, the ſolidity of the arguments, the grandeur and nobleneſs of the ſentiments, and of the ſtyle; the vivacity of

[*l*] Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cùm decem ſimul Athenis ætas una tulerit: quorum longè princeps Demoſthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

[*m*] Uſque eò difficiles ac moroſi ſumus, ut nobis non ſatisfaciat ipſe Demoſthenes: qui, quanquam unus eminet inter omnes in omni genere dicendi, tamen non ſemper implet aures meas, ita ſunt avidæ & capaces, & ſemper aliquid immenſum infinitumque deſiderant. Orat. n. 104.

the turns and figures; in a word, [n] the wonderful art of repreſenting the ſubjects he treats in all their luſtre, and diſplaying them in all their ſtrength; in which, according to Quintilian, that juſt Eloquence chiefly conſiſts, which is not ſatisfied with repreſenting things as they really are, but heightens them by lively and animating touches, which only are capable of affecting and moving the paſſions of the auditors. But that which diſtinguiſhes Demoſthenes ſtill more, and in which no one has imitated him, is, that he drops himſelf ſo entirely; is always ſo ſcrupulous in avoiding every thing that might look like a ſhew or parade of wit and genius; and ſo careful to make the auditor attend to the cauſe, and not to the orator, that no expreſſion, turn, or thought ever eſcape him, ſuch, I mean, as are calculated merely to pleaſe or ſhine. This reſervedneſs, this moderation, in ſo fine a genius as Demoſthenes, and in topics ſo ſuſceptible of graces and elegance, raiſes his merit to its higheſt pitch, and is ſuperior to all encomiums. M. Tourreil's tranſlation, though generally very juſt, does not always preſerve that inimitable character; and we ſometimes meet with ornaments in it, which are not found in the original.

The reader will not take it amiſs, if I ſupport what I have declared of Demoſthenes's ſtyle, by the opinion of two illuſtrious moderns, which ought to have as much weight as thoſe of the ancients.

The firſt is from the archbiſhop of Cambray's dialogues upon Eloquence, which are very proper to form the taſte, by the judicious reflections with which they abound. He thus ſpeaks of Demoſthenes, in his compariſon between him and Iſocrates. "Iſocrates "is full of florid and effeminate orations, and with "periods laboured with infinite pains to pleaſe the "ear; whilſt Demoſthenes moves, warms, and ſeizes "the heart. The latter is too much concerned for

[n] In hoc eloquentiæ vis eſt, ut judicem non ad id tantùm impellat, in quod ipſe à rei naturâ ducetur; ſed aut qui non eſt, aut majorem quàm eſt, faciat affectum. Hæc eſt illa quæ δεινότης vocatur, rebus indignis, aſperis, invidioſis addens vim oratio: qua virtute præter alios plurimum Demoſthenes valuit. Quint. l. 6. c. 2.

"his

" his country, to amuſe himſelf, like Iſocrates, in " playing upon words: he argues cloſely, and his " ſentiments are thoſe of a ſoul that conceives nothing " but great ideas: his diſcourſe improves and gathers " ſtrength, at every word, from the new arguments " he employs. It is a chain of bold and moving fi- " gures. Every reader ſees plainly, that his whole " ſoul is fixed on his country. Nature herſelf ſpeaks " in his tranſports, and art is ſo exquiſite in what he " ſays, that it does not appear. Nothing was ever " equal to his impetuoſity and vehemence." I ſhall ſoon quote another paſſage from M. Fenelon, which is ſtill more beautiful, wherein he compares Demoſthenes to Cicero.

My ſecond authority is M. de Tourreil, who had ſtudied Demoſthenes long enough, to diſcover his character, and the genius of his writings. " I allow, ſays " he, that we do not find in Æſchines that air of recti- " tude, that impetuoſity of ſtyle, that force of tran- " ſcendant veracity, which forces the conſent by the " weight of conviction; a talent that leaves De- " moſthenes without an equal, and which he applies " in a ſingular manner. Whether he calms or ele- " vates the mind, we do not find ourſelves in any diſ- " order, but think we are obeying the dictates of na- " ture. Whether he perſuades or diſſuades, we do " not perceive any thing that offers violence, but we " think we are obeying the commands of reaſon; for " this orator always ſpeaks like nature and reaſon, " and has properly no other ſtyle but theirs. What- " ever he ſays flows from that ſpring. He avoids " even the ſhadow of redundancy. He has no far- " fetched embelliſhments nor flowers. He loves no- " thing but fire and light. He will not employ glit- " tering weapons, but ſuch only as will do execution. " This, in my opinion, is the foundation of that vic- " torious impetuoſity which ſubdued the Athenians, " and places Demoſthenes above all the orators who " ever lived.

" A peculiar energy, says the same author, in ano-
" ther place, constitutes his character, and sets him
" above equality. His discourse is a series of induc-
" tions, conclusions, and demonstrations, formed by
" common sense. His reasoning, of which the force
" perpetually increases, rises by degrees, and with
" precipitation, to the pitch he would carry it. He
" attacks openly, he pushes forward, and at last re-
" duces the auditor to such streights, that there's no
" further retreat for him. But on this occasion, the
" auditor, far from being ashamed of his defeat, feels
" the pleasure which submitting to reason affords.
" *Isocrates*, said Philip, *pushes only with a foil, but De-*
" *mosthenes fights with the sword.* . . We see in him a
" man, who has no other enemies but those of the
" state, nor any passion but the love of order and
" justice. A man, whose aim is not to dazzle but to
" inform; not to please but to be useful. He em-
" ploys no other ornaments, but such as grow out
" of his subject; nor any flowers but those he finds in
" his way. One would conclude, that he desired no-
" thing farther than to be understood, and that he
" gained admiration without seeking it. Not that he
" is devoid of graces, but then they are those only
" of an austere kind, and such as are compatible with
" the candour and ingenuity he professed. In his
" writings, truth is not set off with paint, nor does
" he make it effeminate with intent to adorn it; no
" kind of ostentation, or retrospect upon himself; he
" neither shews nor regards himself, but is entirely
" confined to his cause; and his cause is always the
" preservation or advantage of his country."

II. *Of* CICERO's ELOQUENCE, *compared with that of* DEMOSTHENES.

[o] Two orators, though very different in style and character, may yet be equally perfect; so that it would

[o] In his oratoribus illud animadvertendum est, posse esse summos, qui inter se sint dissimiles. . . . Ita dissimiles erant inter se, statuere ut tamen non posses utrius te malles similiorem. Brut. n. 204, & 148.

not

not be eaſy to determine, which of them we ſhould chooſe to reſemble.

Perhaps this rule, with which Cicero furniſhes us, may be of ſervice in the judgment we are to form between him and Demoſthenes.

Both excelled in the three kinds of writing, as every one muſt do who is truly eloquent. They knew how to vary their ſtyle as their ſubjects varied; ſometimes ſimple and ſubtile [*p*] in cauſes of ſmall conſequence, in narrations and proofs; and at others, adorned and embelliſhed, when there was a neceſſity of pleaſing; ſometimes elevated and ſublime, when the dignity of the ſubject required it. [*q*] Cicero makes this remark, and he quotes for examples Demoſthenes and himſelf.

Quintilian has drawn a fine parallel between theſe two orators. [*r*] "The qualities, ſays he, on which "Eloquence is founded, were alike in both; ſuch "as the deſign, the order, the diſpoſition, the diviſion, the method of preparing the auditors, and the "proving; and, in a word, every thing that is relative to invention.

"[*s*] But there is ſome difference in their ſtyle. The "one is more conciſe, the other more diffuſive; the "one puſhes cloſer to his adverſary, the other allows "him a larger ſpot to fight upon. The one is always "endeavouring to pierce him, as it were, with the "vivacity of his ſtyle; the other often bears him "down with the weight of his diſcourſe. Nothing "can be retrenched from the one, nor added to the

[*p*] Je me ſers ici de ce mot, quoique dans notre langue il porte un autre idée que le *ſubtilis* de Latins.

[*q*] In Orat. n. 102, 103, & 110, 111.

[*r*] Horum ego virtutes pleraſque arbitror ſimiles: conſilium: ordinem: dividendi, præparandi, probandi rationem; omnia denique quæ ſunt inventionis. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

[*s*] In eloquendo eſt aliqua diverſitas. Denſior ille, hic copioſior. Ille concludit aſtrictiùs, hic latiùs pugnat. Ille * acumine ſæpe, hic frequenter & pondere. Ille nihil detrahi poteſt, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ.

* *The tranſlator has thus rendered this paſſage,* L'un eſt toujours ſubtil dans la diſpute, &c. *I do not think that ſubtilty is meant here, but believe that the metaphor is borrowed from a ſword.*

" other. Demoſthenes has more care and ſtudy, and " Cicero more nature and genius.

" [*t*] As to raillery, and the exciting commiſera- " tion, both which are of vaſt effect in Eloquence, " Cicero has undoubtedly the advantage in theſe.

" [*u*] But he yields to him in this reſpect, viz. that " Demoſthenes lived before him; and that Cicero, " though a very extraordinary man, owes part of his " merit to the Athenian orator. For my opinion is, " that Cicero, having bent all his thoughts to the " Greeks, in order to form himſelf upon their model, " compounded his character out of Demoſthenes's " ſtrength, Plato's copiouſneſs, and Iſocrates's ſweet- " neſs. And ſuch was his application, that he not " only extracted every thing extraordinary from thoſe " great originals, but produced, as it were, by the " happy fruitfulneſs of his divine genius, the greateſt " part of thoſe very perfections, or rather all of them. " For, to uſe an expreſſion of Pindar, he does not " collect the waters of heaven to remedy his natural " drineſs; but finds a ſpring of living water within " himſelf, which is ever flowing with vehemence " and impetuoſity; and one would conclude, that the " Gods had given him to the world, in order that Elo- " quence might exert her utmoſt ſtrength in the per- " ſon of this great man.

" [*x*] And indeed, what man was ever more exact " in inſtructing, or moved the paſſions with greater " force?

[*t*] Salibus certè & commiſeratione (qui duo plurimùm affectus valent) vincimus.

[*u*] Cedendum verò in hoc quidem, quòd & ille prior fuit, & ex magnâ parte Ciceronem, quantus eſt, fecit. Nam mihi videtur Marcus Tullius, cùm ſe totum ad imitationem Græcorum contuliſſet, effinxiſſe vim Demoſthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Iſocratis. Nec verò quod in quoque optimum fuit ſtudio conſecutus eſt tantùm, ſed plurimas vel potiùs omnes ex ſe ipſo virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatiſſima ubertate. Non enim pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit, ſed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam Providentiæ genitus, in quo totas vires ſuos eloquentia experiretur.

[*x*] Nam quis docere diligentiùs, movere vehementiùs poteſt? Cui tanta unquam jucunditas affuit? ut ipſa illa quæ extorquet, impetrare eum credas, & cum tranſverſum vi ſua judicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, ſed ſequi. Jam in omnibus quæ dicet tanta auctoritas ineſt, ut diſſentire pudeat; nec advocati

" force? What orator has such a profusion of charms " as him we are speaking of? These are so great, " that we think we grant him what he forces from us; " and, when he hurries away the judges by his im- " petuosity, as with a torrent, they think they fol- " low him of their own accord, at the very time they " are forced along. Besides, he delivers himself with " so much reason and weight, that we are ashamed to " differ in opinion from him. We do not find in him " the zeal of a lawyer, but the integrity of a witness " and of a judge. And these several particulars, " every one of which would cost another infinite pains, " flow naturally, and, as it were, of themselves, " from him; so that his manner of writing, though " so beautiful and inimitable, is nevertheless so easy " and natural, that one would conclude it had not " cost him any pains.

" [y] His cotemporaries therefore had reason to " say, that he exercised a kind of empire at the bar. " And it was but justice in those who succeeded him, " to esteem him so highly, that the name of Cicero is " now less the name of a man, than of Eloquence it- " self. Let us therefore keep our eyes perpetually " upon him; let this orator be our model, and we may " depend that we have made a great improvement, " when we love and have a taste for Cicero."

Quintilian did not dare to form a judgment upon these two great orators; he however seems to have a secret prejudice in favour of Cicero.

Father Rapin is equally cautious and reserved in his comparison between those orators. I should be obliged to copy his whole treatise, were I to repeat all his beautiful reflections on this subject. But some short

vocati studium, sed testis aut judicis afferat fidem. Cùm interim hæc omnia, quæ vix singula quisquam intentissimâ curâ consequi posset, fluunt illaborata: & illa, quâ nihil pulchrius auditu est, oratio præ se fert tamen felicissimam facilitatem.

[y] Quare non immeritò ab hominibus ætatis suæ regnare in judiciis dictus est: apud posteros verò id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Hunc igitur spectemus: hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum. Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valdè placebit.

extracts

extracts inform us sufficiently of the difference to be found between them.

" Besides that solidity, says he, speaking of Cicero, " which compriſed so much ſenſe and prudence, he " had a certain beauty and quinteſſence of wit, which " enabled him to embelliſh all his ideas; and he " heightened every thing that occurred to his imagi- " nation, with the moſt beautiful turns, and the " moſt animated colours in nature. Whatever ſub- " ject he might treat, even the moſt abſtracted mat- " ters in logic, the drieſt topics in phyſics, the moſt " knotty points in law, or the moſt intricate in buſi- " neſs; all theſe, I ſay, when delivered by him, aſ- " ſumed that ſprightlineſs, and all thoſe graces ſo na- " tural to him. For we muſt confeſs, that no man " ever ſpoke with ſo much judgment or beauty on all " ſubjects.

" Demoſthenes, says he elſewhere, diſcovers the " reality and ſolidity of every reaſon that preſents it- " ſelf to his mind, and has the art of diſplaying it in " all its force. Cicero, beſides the ſolid, which never " eſcapes him, ſees whatever is agreeable and en- " gaging, and traces it directly. In order therefore " to diſtinguiſh the characters of theſe two orators by " their real difference, methinks we may ſay, that " Demoſthenes, from the impetuoſity of his temper, " the ſtrength of his reaſon, and the vehemence of " his action, had more force than Cicero; as Cicero, " by his ſoft and delicate deportment, by his gentle, " piercing, and paſſionate emotions, and his many " natural graces, was more affecting than Demoſt- " henes. The Grecian ſtruck the mind by the ſtrength " of his expreſſion, and the ardor and violence of " his declamation; the Roman reached the heart by " certain charms and imperceptible beauties, which " were natural to him, and which were heightened " by all the art that Eloquence is capable of. The " one dazzled the underſtanding by the ſplendor of " his light, and threw a confuſion into the ſoul, which " was won by the underſtanding only; and the inſi-

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" nuating genius of the other penetrated, by a cer-
" tain ſweetneſs and complacency, to the moſt hid-
" den receſſes of the heart. He had the art of enter-
" ing into the intereſts, the inclinations, the paſſions,
" and ſentiments of all who heard him."

The archbiſhop of Cambray, having more courage than the two excellent writers above-cited, declares manifeſtly in favour of Demoſthenes; and yet he cannot be thought to be an enemy to the graces, the flowers, and elegance of ſpeech. He gives us his ſentiments on this ſubject, in his epiſtle upon Eloquence. " I am not, ſays he, afraid to own, that I prefer De-
" moſthenes to Cicero. I proteſt no one admires Ci-
" cero more than I do: he adorns every thing he
" touches: he does honour to ſpeech: he makes
" more of words than any other could: he is poſſeſſed
" of a variety of geniuſes: he is even conciſe and
" vehement whenever he pleaſes, againſt Catiline,
" Verres, and Antony; but we perceive ſome em-
" belliſhment in his orations. They are worked up
" with wonderful art, but we ſee through it. When
" the orator thinks of the ſafety of the common-
" wealth, he neither forgets himſelf, nor ſuffers others
" to do it; but Demoſthenes ſeems to ſtep out, as it
" were, from himſelf, and to ſee nothing but his
" country. He does not ſeek after beauties, for they
" occur to him naturally. He is ſuperior to admira-
" tion: he makes uſe of ſpeech as a modeſt man does
" of clothes: he thunders and lightens: he is a flood,
" that ſweeps away all things in its progreſs. We
" cannot criticize upon him, becauſe we are capti-
" vated by his Eloquence. We are attentive to his
" ideas, and not to his words: we loſe ſight of him,
" and our whole attention is fixed on Philip, who
" uſurps every thing. Both orators charm me; but
" I own myſelf leſs affected with Cicero's boundleſs
" art, and magnificent Eloquence, than with the ra-
" pid ſimplicity of Demoſthenes."

Nothing can be more rational and judicious than theſe reflections of the great archbiſhop; and the

cloſe,

closer we examine his opinion, the more conformable we find it to good sense, right reason, and the most exact rules of true rhetoric. But whoever would take upon him to prefer Demosthenes's orations to those of Cicero, ought, in my opinion, to possess almost as much solidity, force, and elevation of mind, as Demosthenes must have had to compose them. Whether it be owing to a long prepossession in favour of an author we have constantly read from our tender years; or that we are accustomed to a style which agrees more with our manners, and is more adapted to our capacities; we cannot be persuaded to prefer the severe austerity of Demosthenes to the insinuating softness of Cicero; and we chuse to follow our own inclinations and taste for an author, who is in some measure our friend and acquaintance, rather than to declare, upon the credit of another, in favour of one that is almost a stranger to us.

Cicero knew the high merit of Demosthenes's Eloquence, and was fully sensible of all its strength and beauty: but, being persuaded that an orator may, without deviating from the best rules, form his style to a certain point upon the taste of his auditors (it is obvious enough, that I don't here mean a depraved or vicious taste), he did not think the age he lived in susceptible of so rigid an exactness [z]; and believed it necessary to indulge something to the ears and to the delicacy of his auditors, who required more elegance and graces in orations. Thus, he made some allowance to pleasure, but still never lost sight of the cause he was pleading; and he thought he was even then serving his country, which he did effectually, since one of the surest methods of persuading is to please.

The best advice that can be given to young persons, who are designed for the bar, is to take for the model

[z] Quapropter ne illis quidem nimium repugno, qui dandum putant nonnihil esse temporibus atque auribus nitidius aliquid atque affectatius postulantibus. . . . Atque id feciſſe M. Tullium video, ut, cùm omnia utilitati, tum partem quandam delectationi daret: cùm & ipsam se rem agere diceret (agebat autem maximè) litigatoris. Nam hoc ipso proderat, quòd placebat. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

of

of their ſtyle, the ſolid foundation of Demoſthenes, embelliſhed with the graces of Cicero: [a] To which, if we may believe Quintilian, nothing can be added, except, ſays he, that perhaps a few more thoughts might be introduced in diſcourſes. He means, no doubt, thoſe which were very much in vogue in his time, and by which, as by ſo many lively and ſhining ſtrokes, they pointed the ends of moſt of their periods. Cicero ventures upon them ſometimes, but it is very rarely; [b] and he was the firſt among the Romans who made them current. It is very obvious, that what Quintilian ſays in this place is nothing but a kind of condeſcenſion, which the depraved taſte of the age ſeems to have forced from him, [c] when, according to the obſervation of the author of the Dialogue upon orators, the auditor thought he had a right to inſiſt upon a florid ſtyle; and when even the judge would not vouchſafe to hear a lawyer, if he were not invited, and in ſome meaſure corrupted, by the allurement of pleaſure, and by the ſplendor of the thoughts and deſcriptions.

"[d] But, let no one pretend, adds Quintilian, to "abuſe my complaiſance, or to carry it farther. I "will indulge the age we live in ſo far, as to have the "gown now in faſhion made of ſomething better "than coarſe ſtuff; but then it muſt not be of ſilk: I "will allow the hair to be neatly diſpoſed, but it muſt "not be in ſtages, and in ringlets; for dreſs is then "the moſt elegant, and at the ſame moſt beautiful "and becoming, when it has nothing luxurious and "exceſſive in it for the ſake of pleaſing."

[a] Ad cujus voluptates nihil equidem, quod addi poſſit, invenio, niſi ut ſenſus nos quidem dicamus plures. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

[b] Cicero primus excoluit orationem .... locoſque lætiores attentavit, & quaſdam ſententias invenit. Dial. de Or. n. 22.

[c] Auditor aſſuevit jam exigere lætitiam & pulchritudinem orationis. . . Judex ipſe, niſi ... aut colore ſententiarum, aut nitore & cultu deſcriptionem invitatus & corruptus eſt, averſatur dicentem. Ib. n. 20.

[d] Sed me hactenus cedentem nemo inſequatur ultra. Do tempori, ne craſſa toga ſit, non ſeries: ne intonſum caput, non in gradus atque annulos totum comptum: cùm in eo qui ſe non ad luxuriam ac libidinem referat, eadem ſpecioſiora quoque ſint, quæ honeſtiora. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

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Had orators kept within these just bounds, and this wise sobriety with regard to ornaments, Eloquence would not have degenerated in Athens and Rome.

We may affirm, that the most conspicuous age for Eloquence at Athens was that of Demosthenes, [e] when so great a multitude of excellent orators arose, whose general character was, a natural and unadorned beauty: these orators did not all boast the same genius, nor the same style; but they were all united in the same taste of truth and simplicity; which continued as long as the Athenians imitated those great men; but the remembrance of them growing insensibly more obscure after their death, and being at last quite obliterated in peoples minds, a new species of Eloquence arose, which was softer, and more loose and diffused, than the antient kind.

Demetrius Phalereus, who might have seen and heard Demosthenes, took a different course, by giving entirely into the florid and embellished species. He thought Eloquence ought to appear in gay and sprightly colours, and be divested of that gloomy and rigid air, which made her, in his opinion, too serious. He introduced a great many more thoughts; strewed more flowers over her; and, to use an expression of Quintilian, instead of the majestic, but modest dress she wore in Demosthenes's time, [f] he gave her a sparkling robe, variegated with colours altogether unfit for the dust of the bar, but at the same time very fit to attract and dazzle the eyes of people.

[e] Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam: &, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille & sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis ineſſet non fucatus nitor. Brut. n. 36.

Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Æschines, Dinarchus, aliique complures, etsi inter se pares non fuerunt, tamen sunt omnes in eodem veritatis imitandæ genere versati. Quorum quamdiu manſit imitatio, tamdiu genus illud dicendi studiumque vixit. Posteaquam, extinctis his, omnis eorum memoria senſim obscurata est & evanuit, alia quædam dicendi molliora ac remissiora genera viguerunt. 2. de Orat. n. 94, 95.

[f] Meminerimus versicolorem illam, quâ Demetrius Phalereus dicebatur uti vestem, non benè ad forensem pulverem facere. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

[g] Thus

[g] Thus Demetrius, being fitter for affairs of pomp and ceremony, than the contests and litigations of the Bar, preferred softness to strength; endeavoured more to charm than subdue the mind; he thought it sufficient to leave in it the remembrance of a flowing and harmonious discourse; but did not endeavour, like Pericles, to leave at the same time sharp stings, as it were, blended with the allurements of pleasure.

[h] It does not appear, by the picture which Cicero had elsewhere drawn of Phalereus, and his opinion of him, that there was however any thing of forced and excessive in his style; since he says, [i] we might esteem and approve it, if not compared with the force and majesty of the noble and sublime style. [k] And nevertheless Demetrius was the first who caused Eloquence to degenerate; [l] and perhaps declamations, the practice of which was first introduced into the schools in his time, and possibly might have been invented by him, contributed very much to this fatal decline, as they certainly afterwards hastened that of the Roman Eloquence.

But things did not long continue in this state. [m] When Eloquence, after leaving the Piræeum, had begun to breathe another air, she soon lost that sprightliness and florid health which she had always preserved there; and, being vitiated by foreign manners, she forgot, as it were, the use of speech, and

[g] Phalereus successit eis senibus adolescens, eruditissimus ille quidem horum omnium, sed non tam armis institutus quàm palæstrâ. Itaque delectabat magis Athenienses, quàm inflammabat. Processerat enim in solem & pulverem: non ut è militari tabernaculo, sed ut è Theophrasti, doctissimi hominis, umbraculis. Hic primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit: & suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis, sed suavitate eâ quâ perfunderet animos, non quâ perfringeret: & tantùm ut memoriam concinnitatis suæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle scripsit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum à quibus esset auditus. Brut. n. 37, 38.

[h] Orat. n. 91, 96.

[i] Et nisi coram erit, comparatus ille fortior per se hic, quem dico, probabitur. Orat. n. 95.

[k] Primus inclinâsse eloquentiam dicitur. Quint. l. 10. c. 1.

[l] Quint. l. 2. c. 4.

[m] Ut semel è Piræeo eloquentia evecta est, omnes peragravit insulas, atque ita peregrinata totâ Asiâ est, ut se externis oblineret moribus; omnemque illam salubritatem Atticæ dictionis & quasi sanitatem perderet, ac loqui penè dedisceret. Brut. n. 51.

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was so changed, that there was no knowing her. Thus she fell by degrees from the *beautiful* and the *perfect*, to the mediate or indifferent, whence she plunged into every kind of error and excess.

I observed in another place, in speaking of Seneca, that the Latin Eloquence met with the same fate.

Possibly the same reasons may justly make us apprehend the like misfortune, especially when we consider, that those changes proceeded wholly, both in the Athenian and Roman Eloquence, from an excessive desire of setting her off with too much pomp and parade. For I know not by what fatality it has always happened, that as soon as taste was arrived at a certain degree of maturity and perfection, it almost immediately degenerated, and fell by imperceptible gradations, tho' sometimes very suddenly, from the summit of perfection to barbarity. I except, however, the Greek poetry, every species of which, from Homer to Theocritus and his cotemporaries, that is, for six or seven centuries, preserved the same purity and elegance.

We may affirm, to the glory of our own nation, that our taste, with regard to polite literature, has been exquisite for near a century, and still continues so. But it is remarkable, that those celebrated writers, who have done so much honour to France, each of whom may be considered as an original in his way, thought it a duty incumbent on them to consider the antients as their masters; and that the writings in the greatest esteem among us, and which in all probability will descend to the latest posterity, are all formed on the model of the celebrated among the antients. This ought also to be our rule; and we may be assured, that we deviate as much from perfection, as we depart from the taste of the antients.

But to return, and conclude this article; the best model for youth designed for the bar, is, as was before observed, Demosthenes's style, softened and adorned with that of Cicero, in such a manner, that the severity of the former be qualified with the graces

of

of the latter; and that the conciſeneſs and vivacity of Demoſthenes may correct the luxuriancy, and perhaps the too looſe [n] way of writing, with which Cicero is reproached.

A more florid kind of Eloquence, ſuch, for example, as that of M. Flechier, is no way ſuitable to lawyers. I never read the picture which Cicero gives of an orator of his time called Callidius, but I diſcover moſt of M. Flechier's principal characters in it; and the reflection he makes upon it, ſeems to me very well adapted to the matter I am now treating. "[o] "He was not, ſays he, an orator of an ordinary rank, "but one of ſingular and uncommon merit. His "thoughts are great and exquiſite, and he clothes "them in delicate words. He managed a diſcourſe "as he pleaſed, and could throw it into any form; "no orator was ever more maſter of his ſubject, or "handled it with greater art. Nothing is purer or "more flowing than his diction; every word ſtands "in its proper place, and is ſet in, as it were, by a "maſterly hand. He admits nothing harſh, obſo-"lete, low, or that can confuſe or diſorder a diſcourſe. "He uſes metaphors frequently, but they are ſo na-

[n] Dial. de orat. n. 18.

[o] Sed de M. Callidio dicamus aliquid, qui non fuit orator unus è multis; potiùs inter multos prope ſingularis fuit: ita reconditas exquiſitaſque ſententias mollis & pellucens veſtiebat oratio. Nihil tam tenerum quàm illius comprehenſio verborum: nihil tam flexibile: nihil quod magis ipſius arbitrio fingeretur, ut nullius oratoris æquè in poteſtate fuerit. Quæ primùm ita pura erat, ut nihil liquidius; ita liberè fluebat, ut nuſquam adhæreſceret. Nullum niſi loco poſitum, & tanquam in vermiculato emblemate, ut ait Lucilius, ſtructum verbum videres. Nec verò ullum aut durum, aut inſolens, aut humile, aut in longius ductum. Ac non propria verba rerum, ſed pleraque tralata; ſic tamen ut ea, non irruiſſe in alienum locum, ſed immigraſſe in ſuum diceres. Nec verò hæc ſoluta, nec diffluentia, ſed adſtricta numeris, non apertè nec eodem modo ſemper, ſed variè diſſimulanterque concluſis. Erant autem & verborum & ſententiarum lumina . . . quibus tantum inſignibus in ornatu diſtinguebatur omnis oratio. . . . Accedebat ordo rerum plenus artis, totumque dicendi placidum & ſanum genus. Quòd ſi eſt optimum ſuaviter dicere, nihil eſt quod melius hôc quærendum putes. Sed cum à nobis paulò antè dictum ſit, tria videri eſſe, quæ orator efficere deberet, ut doceret, ut delectaret, ut moveret: duo ſummè tenuit, ut & rem illuſtraret diſſerendo, & animos eorum qui audirent demulceret voluptate. Aberat tertia illa laus, quâ permoveret atque incitaret animos, quam plurimùm pollere diximus. Brut. n. 274, 275, 276.

" tural, that they ſeem leſs to aſſume the place of " other words, than to poſſeſs their own. All this " is accompanied with harmony and cadence ſurpriſ- " ingly various, and yet far from affectation. He " aptly employs the moſt beautiful figures, which " add a ſtrong luſtre to his writings. We ſee the " utmoſt art and juſtneſs in the order and plan of his " work; and the ſtyle of the whole is eaſy, calm, and " in an exquiſite taſte. In a word, if Eloquence con- " ſiſted in beauty only, nothing could be ſuperior to " this orator. Of the three parts which conſtitute it, " he is a perfect maſter of the two firſt; I mean thoſe " which tend to pleaſe and inſtruct; but he is quite " deficient in the third ſpecies, which is the moſt " conſiderable, I mean that by which the paſſions " are moved."

We ought certainly to ſet a high value upon this kind of Eloquence; but in what light will it appear when compared to the great and the ſublime, which is the characteriſtic of that of Demoſthenes? The latter reſembles thoſe beautiful and magnificent buildings, formed after the taſte of antient architecture, that admits only of ſimple ornaments; the firſt view of which, and much more the plan, the œconomy and diſtribution of the ſeveral parts, exhibit ſomething ſo great, noble, and majeſtic, that they ſtrike and charm the artiſt at the ſame inſtant. The other may be compared to houſes built in an elegant and delicate taſte, to which art and opulence have annexed whatever is rich and ſplendid; in which gold and marble are every where ſeen, and where the eye is perpetually delighted with ſomething curious and exquiſite.

There is a third kind of Eloquence, which, in my opinion, is alſo inferior to the ſecond, and may lead us inſenſibly to ſomething worſe; I mean that which abounds with ſallies of wit, bright thoughts, and a kind of points, which are now ſo much in vogue. Theſe are ſupported in ſome of our writers, by the juſtneſs of ideas, the ſtrength of argument, the order and

and series of discourse, and natural beauty of genius. But, as the last qualities are very uncommon, we have just reason to fear that their imitators will copy all the vices and defects of their style, as did Seneca's imitators; [*p*] for these, by copying only his faults, were as much inferior to the model they proposed to follow, as Seneca himself to the antients.

The Bar was always, but now more than ever, an enemy to this dazzling, affected style. The grave discourses of those judicious magistrates, who, when they prescribe the true rules of Eloquence every year to pleaders, point out at the same time perfect models to them, are strong barriers against a vicious taste; and contribute very much towards perpetuating, in courts of justice, that happy traditional good taste, as well as just sentiments, which they have so long retained.

Before I conclude this article, I should treat a point in which several young students will one day want to be instructed; I mean to point out the style proper for *Reports*. This branch is of much more frequent use, and more extensive, in our days, than the Eloquence of the Bar; for it takes in all who are concerned in the law, and is practised in all the superior and inferior courts, in all companies, in all public offices, and in all commissions. To succeed in this kind of declamation, is as glorious as the pleading of causes, and as useful for the defence of justice and innocence. However, I can treat but very slightly of this matter here, and will only explain the principles of it, without being very particular.

I am sensible, that every judge and every court have their particular usages and customs in reporting cases. But all have the same foundation; and the style on these occasions must be the same every where. There is a sort of Eloquence peculiar to this kind of

[*p*] Amabant eum magis, quàm imitabantur; tantùmque ab illo defluebant, quantùm ille ab antiquis descenderat. Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

diſcourſe, which conſiſts, if I am not miſtaken, in ſpeaking with perſpicuity and elegance.

The end propoſed by a perſon who reports caſes, is, to inform the judges, his collegues, of the affair upon which they are to give judgment in conjunction with him. He is charged, in their names, with the examination of it. He becomes, on that occaſion, the eye, as it were, of the company. He communicates to them all the lights and informations poſſible. But to do this effectually, the ſubjects he undertakes to treat muſt be methodized in ſuch a manner, the ſeveral facts and proofs ſo diſpoſed, and the whole ſo perſpicuous and clear, that all may eaſily comprehend the *Report*. All things muſt conſpire to this perſpicuity; the thoughts, the expreſſions, the turns, and even the utterance, which muſt be diſtinct, eaſy, and calm.

I obſerved, that to beauty muſt be joined perſpicuity, becauſe we muſt often pleaſe, in order to inſtruct. Judges are but men, and though they are attached to truth and juſtice, abſtracted from all other conſiderations, it is however proper to attach them ſtill more ſtrongly to them, by ſomething taking and delightful. Cauſes which are generally obſcure and full of difficulties, occaſion tedioufneſs and diſguſt, if the perſon who makes the report does not take care to render it agreeable, by a certain elegance and delicacy of wit, which ſtrikes us without affecting to diſplay itſelf, and, by a certain charm and grace, awakens and excites the attention of the hearers.

Addreſſes to the paſſions, wherein the greateſt force of Eloquence conſiſts in other caſes, are here abſolutely prohibited. The perſon who makes the report, does not ſpeak as an advocate, but as a judge. In this view, he maintains one of the characteriſtics of the law, which, while it is ſerene and calm itſelf, points out the rule and duty; and, as he himſelf is commanded to be free from paſſions, he is not allowed to attempt to excite them in others.

This

This manner of ſpeaking, which is not ſupported either by the beauty of thoughts and expreſſions, by the boldneſs of figures, or by the pathos of the paſſions, but which has only an eaſy, ſimple, and natural air and turn in it, is the only one fit for reports, and at the ſame time not ſo eaſy to attain as may be imagined.

I would willingly apply what Tully ſays of Scaurus's Eloquence, to that of one who makes reports. This orator tells us, that it did not ſuit the vivacity of pleading, but was very well adapted to the gravity of a ſenator, who was more conſiderable for his ſolidity and dignity, than for pomp and ſhew; and whoſe conſummate prudence, joined to the higheſt ſincerity, forced the auditors to give their conſent. For, on this occaſion, the reputation of a judge conſtitutes part of his Eloquence, and the idea we entertain of his integrity, adds great weight and authority to his diſcourſe. [q] *In Scauri oratione, ſapientis hominis & recti, gravitas ſumma & naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas: non ut cauſam, ſed ut teſtimonium dicere putares, cùm pro reo diceret. Hoc dicendi genus ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur; ad ſenatoriam verò ſententiam, cujus erat ille princeps, vel maximè: ſignificabat enim non prudentiam ſolùm, ſed, quod maximè rem continebat, fidem.*

It is therefore manifeſt, that thoſe who would ſucceed in *Reports*, muſt carefully ſtudy the firſt, or ſimple kind of Eloquence; muſt enter thoroughly into the genius and taſte of it, and copy from the beſt models; muſt uſe the ſecond ſpecies of Eloquence, viz. the flowery and mediate kind, very ſparingly; borrow only a few touches and beauties from it, with a wiſe circumſpection, and that very rarely; but as to the third kind (the ſublime ſtyle) they muſt abſolutely never make uſe of it.

The practice of the univerſities, eſpecially in the claſſes of Rhetoric and Philoſophy, may be very uſeful to young people, in preparing them for making

[q] Brut. n. 111, 112.

reports. After explaining one of Tully's orations, the pupils are obliged to give an account of it, to display its several parts, to distinguish the various proofs, and make remarks upon such passages as are strong or weak. In philosophy likewise, it is the custom, after reading some excellent treatises of that kind to them, such as Descartes and Malbranche, to discuss them thoroughly, to reduce arguments, which often are very long and abstracted, to some conciseness and perspicuity, to set the difficulties and objections in their full light, and to subjoin the solutions deduced from them. I have heard young lawyers own, that of all the university exercises this was the most advantageous, and of the greatest use to them in reports.

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

How YOUTH *may prepare themselves for* PLEADING.

AS Demosthenes and Cicero arrived at perfection in Eloquence, they are the most proper to point out the path which youth must follow to attain it. I shall therefore give a short relation of what we are told concerning their tender years, their education, the different exercises by which they prepared themselves for pleading, and what formed their greatest merit, and established their reputation. Thus, these two great orators will serve at the same time for models and guides to youth. I do not however pretend to say, they must or can imitate them in every thing; but should they follow them only at a distance, they would find great advantages from it.

DEMOSTHENES.

[r] Demosthenes, having lost his father at the age of seven years, and falling into the hands of selfish and avaricious guardians, who were wholly bent upon

[r] Plut. in Vitâ Demosth.

plundering

plundering his eſtate, was not educated with the care which ſo excellent a genius as his deſerved: not to mention, that the delicacy of his conſtitution, his ill ſtate of health, and the exceſſive fondneſs of his mother, did not allow his maſters to urge him in regard to his ſtudies.

Demoſthenes, hearing them one day ſpeak of a famous cauſe that was to be pleaded, and which made a great noiſe in the city, importuned them very much to carry him with them to the Bar, in order to hear the pleadings. The orator, whoſe name was Calliſtratus, was heard with great attention; and having been very ſucceſsful, was conducted home, in a ceremonious manner, amidſt a croud of illuſtrious citizens, who expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction. Demoſthenes was ſtrongly affected with the honours which were paid the orator, and ſtill more with the abſolute and deſpotic power which Eloquence has over the mind. Demoſthenes himſelf was ſenſible of its force; and, unable to reſiſt its charms, he from that day devoted himſelf entirely to it, and immediately laid aſide every other pleaſure and ſtudy.

Iſocrates's ſchool, [s] which formed ſo many great orators, was at that time the moſt famous in Athens. But whether the ſordid avarice of Demoſthenes's tutors hindered him from improving under a maſter who made his pupils pay very dear [t] for their inſtruction, or whether the gentle or calm Eloquence of Iſocrates was not then ſuitable to his taſte, he was placed under Iſæus [u], whoſe Eloquence was forcible and vehement. He found, however, an opportunity to procure the precepts of Rhetoric as taught by Iſocrates. Plato indeed contributed moſt to the forming of Demoſthenes, [x] And we plainly diſco-

[s] Iſocrates . . . cujus è ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. 2. de Orat. n. 94.

[t] Ten minæ, or five hundred French livres.

[u] Sermo Promptus, & Iſæo terrentior. Juven.

[x] Illud jusjurandum per cæſos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores reipublicæ, ſatis manifeſtò docet præceptorem ejus Platonem fuiſſe. Quint. l. 12. c. 10.

ver the noble and ſublime ſtyle of the maſter, in the writings of the pupil.

His firſt eſſay of Eloquence was againſt his guardians, whom he obliged to reſtore part of his fortune. Encouraged by this good ſucceſs, he ventured to ſpeak before the people; but acquitted himſelf very ill on that occaſion. Demoſthenes had a faint voice, ſtammered in his ſpeech, and had a very ſhort breath; and yet his periods were ſo long, that he was often obliged to pauſe in order to take breath. He therefore was hiſſed by the whole audience, and thereupon went home quite dejected, and determined to abandon for ever a profeſſion to which he imagined himſelf unequal. But one of his hearers, who perceived an excellent genius amidſt his faults, and an Eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, encouraged him, by the ſtrong remonſtrances he made, and the ſalutary advice he gave him.

He therefore appeared a ſecond time before the people, but with no better ſucceſs than before. As he was going home with down-caſt eyes, and full of confuſion, he was met by his friend Satyrus, one of the beſt actors of the age; who, being informed of the cauſe of his chagrin, told Demoſthenes, that the misfortune was not without remedy, nor ſo deſperate as he imagined. He deſired Demoſthenes only to repeat ſome of Euripides or Sophocles's verſes to him, which he immediately did. Satyrus repeated them after him, and gave them quite another grace, by the tone of voice, the geſture, and vivacity, with which he ſpoke them; ſo that Demoſthenes obſerved they had a quite different effect. This made him ſenſible of what he wanted, and he applied himſelf to the attainment of it.

His endeavours to correct the natural impediment in his ſpeech, and to perfect himſelf in utterance, of the value of which his friend had made him ſo ſenſible, ſeemed almoſt incredible; and to demonſtrate, that indefatigable induſtry can overcome all difficulties.

ties. [y] He ſtammered to ſuch a degree, that he could not even pronounce certain letters; and among others, that which began the name of the art he ſtudied; and his breath was ſo ſhort, that he could not utter a whole period without ſtopping. However, Demoſthenes overcame all theſe obſtacles, by putting little pebbles into his mouth, and then repeating ſeveral verſes one after another, without taking breath; and this even when he walked, and aſcended very craggy and ſteep places: ſo that he at laſt could pronounce all the letters without heſitating, and ſpeak the longeſt periods without once taking breath. But this was not all; [z] for he uſed to go to the ſea-ſhore, and ſpeak his orations when the weather was moſt boiſterous, in order to prepare himſelf, by the confuſed noiſe of the waves, for the uproar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of aſſemblies. He had a large mirror, which was his maſter for action; and before this he uſed to declaim, before he ſpoke in public. He was well paid for his trouble, ſince by this method he carried the art of declaiming to the higheſt perfection of which it was capable.

His application to ſtudy, in other reſpects, was equal to the pains he took to conquer his natural defects. He had a cloſet made under-ground, that he might be remote from noiſe and diſturbance; and this was to be ſeen in Plutarch's time. There he ſhut himſelf up for months together, and had half his head

[y] Orator imitetur illum, cui ſine dubio ſumma vis dicendi conceditur, Athenienſem Demoſthenem, in quo tantum ſtudium fuiſſe tantuſque labor dicitur, ut primùm impedimenta naturæ diligentiâ induſtriâque ſuperaret; cùmque ita balbus eſſet, ut ejus ipſius artis, cui ſtuderet, primam literam non poſſet dicere, perfecit meditando ut nemo planiùs eo locutus putaretur. Deinde cùm ſpiritus ejus eſſet anguſtior, tantum continendâ animâ in dicendo eſt aſſecutus, ut unâ continuatione verborum (id quod ſcripta ejus declarant) binæ ei contentiones vocis, & remiſſiones continerentur. Qui etiam (ut memoriæ proditum eſt) conjectis in os calculis, ſummâ voce verſus multos uno ſpiritu pronunciare conſueſcebat; neque id conſiſtens in loco, ſed inambulans, atque adſcenſu ingrediens arduo. 1. de Orat. n. 260, 261.

[z] Propter quæ idem ille tantus amator ſecreti Demoſthenes, in littore, in quod ſe maximo cum ſono fluctus illideret, meditans conſueſcebat concionum fremitus non expaveſcere. Quint. l. 10. c. 13.

ſhaved,

ſhaved, on purpoſe that he might be kept from going abroad. It was there he compoſed, by the light of a ſmall lamp, thoſe excellent harangues, which ſmelt, as his enemies gave out, of the oil; to inſinuate they were too much laboured. 'Tis very plain, replied he, yours did not coſt you ſo much trouble. He was a very early riſer, and [a] uſed to be under great concern when any artificer got to work before him. We may judge of his endeavours to perfect himſelf in every kind of learning, by the pains he took in copying Thucydides's hiſtory no leſs than eight times, with his own hand, in order to make his ſtyle more familiar to him.

CICERO.

Cicero was born with a very fine genius, and had likewiſe the beſt education, [b] in which he was more happy than Demoſthenes. His father took particular care of it, and ſpared nothing to cultivate his talents. It appears that the famous Craſſus, whom he ſo often mentions in his works, was pleaſed to direct the plan of his ſtudies, and aſſigned him ſuch preceptors as were capable of aſſiſting him in forming Cicero. [c] The poet Archias implanted in him very early the elements of taſte for polite literature; which Cicero himſelf tells us, in the eloquent oration he made in defence of his maſter.

No child ever diſcovered more ardour for ſtudy than Cicero. Children were at that time taught by none but Greeks; and he performed ſuch things in their language, as deſerve to be taken notice of. Plotius was the firſt who altered that cuſtom, and taught in Latin. He was a Gaul [d], and had a very famous ſchool.

[a] Cui non ſunt auditæ Demoſthenis vigiliæ? qui dolere ſe aiebat, ſi quando opificum antelucanâ victus eſſet induſtria. 4. Tuſc. quæſt. n. 44.

[b] 2. de Orat. n. 2.

[c] Quoad longiſſimè poteſt mens mea reſpicere ſpatium præteriti temporis, & pueritiæ memoriam recordari ultimam, inde uſque repetens, hunc video mihi principem & ad ſuſcipiendam & ad ingrediendam rationem horum ſtudiorum extitiſſe. Orat. pro Arch. n. 1.

[d] Equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primum Latinè docere cœpiſſe

ſchool. People ſent their children to it from all parts, and thoſe of the beſt taſte approved his method very much. Cicero was exceſſively deſirous of hearing ſuch a maſter; but thoſe who had the chief management of his education and ſtudies, did not think proper to gratify him, becauſe that method of teaching, which was not practiſed or heard of till then, appeared to the magiſtrates a dangerous innovation; and the cenſors, of whom Craſſus was one, made a decree to prohibit it, without giving any other reaſon, but that the cuſtom was contrary to the practice eſtabliſhed by their anceſtors [e]. Craſſus, or rather Cicero in his name, endeavours to juſtify this decree in the beſt manner he could, which had given offence to people of the beſt underſtanding; and he hints, that the new plan itſelf was not ſo much condemned, as the method the maſters took in teaching it. And indeed [f] this plan prevailed at laſt, and people were ſenſible of the benefit and advantages which accrued from it, as Suetonius informs us, who has preſerved Cicero's epiſtle, wherein he ſpeaks of Plotius, the cenſor's order, and the decree of the ſenate.

[g] In the mean time, Cicero made a great progreſs under his maſters. And indeed he had ſuch a genius as Plato wiſhed a pupil; a ſtrong thirſt for learning, a mind fit for ſciences, and that took in all things. Poetry was one of his firſt paſſions, and it is related that he ſucceeded tolerably well in it. From his infant years he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo remarkable a manner among thoſe of his own age, that the parents of his ſchool-fellows, hearing of his extraordinary genius, came on purpoſe to the ſchool to be eye-witneſſes of it, and were charmed with what they ſaw and heard. His merit muſt have been attended with

cœpiſſe Lucium Plotium quendam: ad quem cum fieret concurſus, quòd ſtudioſiſſimus quiſque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctiſſimorum hominum auctoritate, qui exiſtimabant Græcis exercitationibus ali meliùs ingenia poſſe. Epiſt. Cic. apud Suet. de claris Rhetoribus.

[e] 3. de Orat. n. 93, 95.

[f] Paulatim & ipſa utilis honeſtaque apparuit; multique eam præſidii causâ & gloriæ appetiverunt. Suet. ibid.

[g] Plut. in vit. Cic.

great

great modesty, since his companions were the first who proclaimed it, and paid him such honours, as raised the jealousy of some of their parents.

At sixteen, which was the time youth were allowed to wear the *toga virilis*, or manly gown, Cicero's studies became more serious. [*b*] It was a custom then at Rome, for the father or next relation of a youth who had attained the age we are now speaking of, and designed for the Bar, to present him to one of the most celebrated orators, and put him under his protection. After this, the young man devoted himself to his patron in a particular manner; went to hear him plead, consulting him about his studies, and did nothing without his advice. Being thus accustomed betimes, to breathe, as it were, the air of the Bar, which is the best school for a young lawyer, and as he was the disciple of the greatest masters, and forming the most finished models, he was soon able to imitate them.

[*i*] Cicero himself tells us, this was his custom, and that he was a diligent hearer of the ablest orators in Rome. He devoted several hours every day to reading and composition; and it is very probable, that what he makes Crassus [*k*] say, in his books *de Oratore*, he himself had practised in his youth; that is, he translated the finest pieces of the Greek orators into Latin, in order to imbibe their style and genius.

[*l*] He did not confine himself barely to the study of Eloquence; for that of the law appeared to him one of the most necessary, and he devoted himself to

[*b*] Ergo apud majores nostros, juvenis ille, qui foro & eloquentiæ parabatur, imbutus jam domesticâ disciplinâ, refertus honestis studiis, deducebatur à patre, vel à propinquis, ad eum oratorem qui principem locum in civitate tenebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, hujus omnibus dictionibus interesse. . . . Atque hercule sub ejusmodi præceptionibus juvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator judiciorum, eruditus & assuefactus alienis experimentis . . . . solus statim & unus cuicunque causæ par erat. Dial. de Orat. n. 34.

[*i*] Reliquos frequenter audiens accerimo studio tenebar, quotidieque & scribens, & legens, & commentans, oratoris tantùm exercitationibus contentus non eram. Brut. n. 305.

[*k*] 1. de Orat. n. 155.

[*l*] Brut. n. 306.

it

it with uncommon application. He likewiſe made himſelf perfectly maſter of philoſophy in all its branches [*m*]; and he proves, in ſeveral places, that it contributed infinitely more than Rhetoric towards making him an orator. [*n*] He had the beſt philoſophers of the age for his maſters.

Cicero did not begin to plead till he was about ſix and twenty. The troubles of the ſtate prevented him from attempting it ſooner. [*o*] His firſt eſſays were ſo many maſter-pieces, and they immediately gained him a reputation almoſt equal to that of the oldeſt lawyers. His defence of Sextius Roſcius, and eſpecially the part relating to the puniſhment of parricides, had extraordinary ſucceſs, and gained him great applauſe; and ſo much the more, as none elſe had courage enough to undertake the cauſe, on account of the exorbitant credit of Chryſogonus, freed man to Sylla the dictator, whoſe power in the commonwealth was at that time unlimited.

[*p*] The ſenſible pleaſure his riſing reputation gave him, was allayed by the ill ſtate of his health. His conſtitution was very tender; the drudgery of the Bar, together with his warm and vehement manner of writing and ſpeaking, made people fear he would ſink under the weight; and all his friends and the phyſicians enjoined him ſilence and retirement.

[*m*] Ego fateor, me oratorem, ſi modò ſim, aut etiam quicumque ſim, non ex rhetorum officinis, ſed ex Academiæ ſpatiis extitiſſe. Orat. n. 12.

[*n*] Brut. n. 305 & 309.

[*o*] Prima cauſa publica, pro Sexto Roſcio dicta, tantum commendationis habuit, ut non ulla eſſet, quæ non noſtro digna patrocinio videretur. Brut. n. 312.

Quantis illa clamoribus adoleſcentuli diximus de ſupplicio parricidarum? Orat. n. 107.

[*p*] Erat eo tempore in nobis ſumma gracilitas & infirmitas corporis; procerum & tenue collum: qui habitus & quæ figura non procul abeſſe putatur à vitæ periculo, ſi accedit labor, & laterum magna contentio. Eoque magis hoc eos, quibus eram carus, commovebat, quòd omnia ſine remiſſione, ſine varietate, vi ſummâ vocis, & totius corporis contentione dicebam. Itaque cùm me & amici & medici hortarentur, ut cauſas agere deſiſterem, quodvis potius periculum mihi adeundum, quàm à ſperata dicendi gloriâ diſcedendum putavi. Sed cùm cenſerem remiſſione & moderatione vocis, & commutato genere dicendi, me & periculum vitare poſſe, & temperatiùs dicere; ea cauſa mihi in Aſiam proficiſcendi fuit. Brut. n. 313, 314.

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It was a kind of death to him to renounce wholly the pleaſing hopes of glory, which the Bar ſeemed to offer. He thought it would be enough to ſoften a little the vehemence of his ſtyle and pronunciation, and that a voyage might reſtore his health. And accordingly he ſet out for Aſia. Some indeed imagined a political reaſon made his abſence neceſſary, in order that he might avoid the conſequence of Chryſogonus's reſentment.

[q] He took Athens in his way, and continued there about ſix months. It is eaſy to judge, how one who was ſo fond of ſtudy, employed that time, in a city which was ſtill looked upon as the ſeat of the moſt refined learning, and moſt ſolid philoſophy. [r] From Athens he went to Aſia, where he conſulted all the able profeſſors of Eloquence he could meet with. And, not contented with all the treaſures he had amaſſed there, he proceeded to Rhodes, purpoſely to hear the celebrated Molo. Though he had already acquired great reputation among the lawyers of Rome, he was not in the leaſt aſhamed of taking new leſſons under him, and of becoming his diſciple a ſecond time. [s] But he had no reaſon to repent it; for this great maſter, taking him again under his tuition, corrected what was ſtill vicious in his ſtyle; and completely retrenched that exceſſive redundancy, which, like a river that overflowed its banks, had neither meaſure nor boundaries.

[t] Cicero returned to Rome after two years abſence, not only more accompliſhed, but almoſt a new man. He had acquired a ſweeter voice; his ſtyle was become

[q] Brut. n. 315.

[r] Brut. n. 315, 316.

[s] Is Molo dedit operam, ſi modò id conſequi potuit, ut nimis redundantes nos & ſuperfluentes juvenili quâdam dicendi impunitate & licentia reprimeret, & quaſi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Brut. n. 316.

M. Tullius, cùm jam clarum meruiſſet inter patronos qui tum erant, nomen. . . Apollonio Molo-ni, quem Romæ quoque audierat, Rhodi ſe rurſus formandum ac velut recoquendum dedit. Quint. l. 12. c. 6.

[t] Ita recepi me biennio poſt, non modò exercitatior, ſed propè mutatus. Nam & contentio nimia vocis reciderat, & quaſi deferbuerat oratio, lateribuſque vires & corporis mediocris habitus acceſſerat. Brut. n. 316.

more

more correct, and less verbose; and even his body was grown more robust. [u] He found two orators at Rome, who had gained great reputation, and whom he much desired to equal; these were Cotta and Hortensius, but especially the latter, who was very near of the same age with himself, and whose manner of writing bore a near resemblance to his own. It is not an idle curiosity in young men designed for the Bar, to see those two great orators contending for prizes, like two wrestlers, and disputing for victory with one another during several years, through a noble emulation. I shall here relate a part of what Cicero tells us on that subject.

[x] Hortensius wanted none of those qualifications, either natural or acquired, which form the great orator. He had a lively genius, an inconceivable passion for study, a large extent of knowledge, a prodigious memory, and so perfect a manner of pronunciation, that the most celebrated actors of his time went on purpose to hear him, in order to form themselves by his example for gesture and declamation. Thus he made a shining figure at the Bar, and acquired great reputation.

[y] But there being nothing further to animate his ambition, after he was raised to the consulship, and desirous of a more happy way of life, as he imagined, or at least a more easy one, with the great possessions he had acquired, he began to grow indolent, and abated very much of the warmth he had always entertained for study from his childhood. There was

[u] Duo tum excellebant oratores, qui me imitandi cupiditate incitarent, Cotta & Hortensius.... Cum Hortensio mihi magis arbitrabar rem esse; quod & dicendi ardore eram propior, & ætate conjunctior. Brut. n. 317.

[x] Nihil isti, neque à natura, neque à doctrinâ defuit... Erat ingenio peracri, & studio flagranti, & doctrinâ eximiâ & memoriâ singulari. 3. de Orat. n. 229, 230.

[y] Post consulatum ... summum illud suum studium remisit, quo à puero fuerat incensus: atque in omnium rerum abundantia voluit beatius, ut ipse putabat, remissius certè, vivere. Primus, & secundus annus, & tertius tantum quasi de picturæ veteris colore detraxerat, quantum non quivis unus ex populo, sed existimator doctus & intelligens posset cognoscere. Longius autem procedens, & in cæteris eloquentiæ partibus, tum maximè in celeritate & continuatione verborum adhærescens; sui dissimilior videbatur fieri quotidie. Brut. n. 320.

some

ſome difference in his manner of pleading, the firſt, ſecond, and third years after his conſulſhip; but this was ſcarce perceivable; and none but the learned could obſerve it: as happens to pictures, the brightneſs of whoſe colours decays inſenſibly. This declenſion increaſed with his years, and, when his fire and vivacity left him, he grew every day more unlike himſelf.

[z] Cicero, however, redoubling his efforts, made a very great progreſs, endeavouring to come up with his rival, and even outſtrip him, if poſſible, in that noble career of glory, where pleaders are allowed to diſpute the palm with their beſt friends. A new ſpecies of Eloquence, beautiful as well as energetic, which he introduced in the Bar, drew people's eyes upon him, and made him the object of public admiration. He himſelf gives an excellent picture of this, but in a curious and delicate manner; by obſerving what was wanting in others, and ſhewing by that means what was admired in himſelf. I ſhall tranſcribe the whole paſſage, becauſe youth may therein ſee all the parts which form this great orator.

" [a] No perſon at that time, ſays Cicero, made " polite literature his particular ſtudy, without which " there is no perfect Eloquence: no one ſtudied phi-

[z] Nos autem non deſiſtebamus, cùm omni genere exercitationis, tum maximè ſtilo, noſtrum illud quod erat augere: quantumcunque erat. . . Nam cùm propter aſſiduitatem in cauſis, & induſtriam, tum propter exquiſitius & minimè vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. n. 521.

[a] Nihil de me dicam; dicam de cæteris, quorum nemo erat qui videretur exquiſitiùs quam vulgus hominum ſtuduiſſe literis, quibus fons perfectæ eloquentiæ continetur; nemo, qui philoſophiam complexus eſſet, matrem omnium benè factorum benèque dictorum: nemo, qui jus civile dediciſſet, rem ad privatas cauſas, & ad oratoris prudentiam, maximè neceſſariam: nemo, qui memoriam rerum Romanarum teneret, ex qua, ſi quando opus eſſet, ab inferis locupletiſſimos teſtes excitaret: nemo, qui breviter argutèque incluſo adverſario, laxaret judicum animos, atque à ſeveritate pauliſper ad hilaritatem rurſumque traduceret: nemo, qui dilatare poſſet, atque à propriâ ac definitâ diſputatione hominis ac temporis ad communem quæſtionem univerſi generis orationem traduceret: nemo, qui delectandi gratiâ digredi parumper à causâ: nemo qui ad iracundiam magnoperè judicem, nemo qui ad fletum poſſet adducere: nemo qui animum ejus (quod unum eſt oratoris maximè proprium) quocumque res poſtularet impelleret. Brut. n. 322.

" loſophy

" losophy thoroughly, which alone teaches us at one " and the same time, to live and speak well: no one " learnt the civil law, which is absolutely necessary " for an orator, to enable him to plead well in pri- " vate causes, and form a true judgment of public " affairs: there was no person well skilled in the Ro- " man history, or able to make a proper use of it in " pleading: no one could raise a chearfulness in the " judges, and unruffle them, as it were, by season- " able railleries, after having vigorously pushed his " adversary, by the strength and solidity of his argu- " ments: no one had the art of transferring or con- " verting the circumstance of a private affair into a " common or general one: no person could some- " times depart from his subject by prudent digres- " sions, to throw in the agreeable into his discourse: " in fine, no person could incline the judges some- " times to anger, sometimes to compassion; and in- " spire them with whatever sentiments he pleased, " wherein, however, the principal merit of an ora- " tor consists."

[b] Cicero's great success rouzed Hortensius from his lethargy, especially when he saw him promoted to the consulate; fearing, no doubt, that now he was equal to him in dignity, he would surpass him in merit. They afterwards pleaded together for twelve years, lived in great unity, and had an esteem for one another, each exalting the other much above himself. But the public gave the preference to Cicero without hesitation.

[c] The latter orator tells us the reason why Hortensius was more agreeable to the public in his youth, than in his advanced years. He gave into a florid kind

[b] Itaque, cùm jam penè evanuisset Hortensius, & ego consul factus essem, revocare se ad industriam cœpit: ne, cum pares honore essemus, aliquâ re superior viderer. Sic duodecim post meum consulatum annos in maximis causis cùm ego mihi illum, sibi me ille anteferret, conjunctissimè versati sumus. Brut. n. 313.

[c] Si quærimus cur adolescens magis floruerit dicendo, quàm senior Hortensius: causas reperiemus verissimas duas. Primùm, quòd genus erat orationis Asiaticum, adolescentiæ magis concessum, quàm senectuti.

kind of Eloquence, enriched with happy expreſſions; a great beauty and delicacy of thought, which was often more ſhining than ſolid; an uncommon correctneſs, juſtneſs, and elegance. His diſcourſes, thus laboured with infinite care and art, ſupported by a muſical voice, an agreeable action, and an exquiſite utterance, were extremely pleaſing in a young man, and at firſt engroſſed the applauſe of all men. But afterwards this kind of gay Eloquence became unſeaſonable, becauſe the weight of the public employments he had paſſed through, and the maturity of his years, required ſomething more grave and ſerious. He was always the ſame orator, had always the ſame ſtyle, but not the ſame ſucceſs. Beſides, as his ardor for ſtudy was very much abated, and he did not take ſo much pains as formerly, the thoughts, which till then had brightened his pieces, having no longer their former embelliſhment, but appearing with a negligent air, loſt moſt of their ſplendor, and by that means made the orator ſink very much in his reputation.

REFLECTIONS *upon what has been* SAID *on this* SUBJECT.

The bare relation I have made of the conduct of the greateſt orators of antiquity, will ſufficiently point out to youth deſigned for the Bar, the path they are to follow, if they propoſe to attain the ſame end.

ſenecluti. . . Itaque Hortenſius hoc genere florens, clamores faciebat adoleſcens. . . . Erat in verborum ſplendore elegans, compoſitione aptus, facultate copioſus. . . . Vox canora & ſuavis: motus & geſtus etiam plus artis habebat quàm erat oratori ſatis. Habebat illud ſtudium crebrarum venuſtarumque ſententiarum: in quibus erant quædam magis venuſtæ dulceſque ſententiæ, quàm aut neceſſariæ, aut interdum utiles. Et erat oratio cùm incitata & vibrans, tum etiam accurata & polita. . . . Etſi genus illud dicendi auctoritatis habebat parum, tamen aptum eſſe ætati videbatur. Et certè, quòd ingenii quædam forma lucebat . . . ſummam hominum admirationem excitabat. Sed cùm jam honores, & illa ſenior auctoritas gravius quidam requireret; remanebat idem, nec decebat idem. Quodque exercitationem ſtudiumque dimiſerat, quod in eo fuerat acerrimum, concinnitas illa crebritaſque ſententiarum priſtina manebat, ſed ea veſtitu illo orationis, quo conſueverat, ornata non erat. Brut. 325, 326, 327, & 330.

1. The

1. The first and principal thing they must do, is to form a grand idea of their profession. For though it does not now lead to the chief employments in the state, as formerly at Athens and at Rome; yet what esteem does it not gain those who distinguish themselves in it, either in pleading or giving counsel? [d] Can any thing delight a private man more, than to see his house frequented by persons of the greatest rank, and even by princes, who in all their doubts and necessities resort to him as to an oracle, to pay homage to his profession and extraordinary abilities, and to acknowledge a superiority of learning and prudence, which riches and grandeur cannot bestow? Is there any finer sight, than to see a numerous auditory attentive, immoveable, and, as it were, hanging on the lips of a pleader, who manages speech, seemingly common to all, with so much art, that he charms and ravishes the minds of his hearers, and makes himself absolute master over them? But besides this glory, which would be trifling enough were there no other motive; what solid joy is it for a virtuous man to think he has received a talent from God, which makes him the sanctuary of the unfortunate, the protector of justice; and enables him to defend the lives, fortunes, and honours of his brethren?

2. A natural consequence of this first reflection, is, that those designed for the Bar should prepare themselves for a profession of such great importance, and imitate, at least at a distance, the passion and indefa-

[d] Quid est præclarius, quam honoribus & reipublicæ muneribus perfunctum senem, posse suo jure dicere idem, quod apud Ennium dicat ille Pythius Apollo, se eum esse, UNDE SIBI, SI NON
POPULI ET REGES, at omnes sui cives CONSILIUM EXPETANT,
SUARUM RERUM INCERTI: QUOS EGO MEA OPE EX INCERTIS CERTOS, COMPOTESQUE CONSILII DIMITTO, UT NE RES TEMERE TRACTENT TURBIDAS.
Est enim sine dubio domus jurisconsulti totius oraculum civitatis. 1. de Orat. n. 166, 200.

Ulla-ne tanta ingentium opum ac magnæ potentiæ voluptas, quam spectare homines veteres & senes, & totius urbis gratiâ subnixos, in summâ omnium rerum abundantiâ, confitentes id quod optimum sit se non habere? Dialog. de Orat. n. 6.

tigable warmth of Demoſthenes and Cicero. [e] I am convinced, that a genius is the firſt and moſt neceſſary quality for a pleader; but I am alſo certain, that ſtudy is of great ſervice. 'Tis like a ſecond nature, and if it does not impart a genius to him who had none before, it however rectifies, poliſhes, improves, and invigorates it. And Cicero had great reaſon to inſiſt very much upon this article, and to aſſert, that every thing in Eloquence depends on the care, the pains, the application and vigilance of the orator.

3. The knowledge of the law, and its different cuſtoms, form properly the ſcience of the lawyer; and to pretend to plead without thoſe advantages, is to attempt the raiſing of a great building, without laying a foundation.

4. The talent of ſpeaking conſtitutes an orator; it is, as it were, the inſtrument which enables him to make uſe of all the reſt. But, in my opinion, it is not enough cultivated. Whether it be the effect of idleneſs, or a confidence in ourſelves, we generally think genius alone will enable us to excel in it. But Cicero is of another opinion. His endeavours to attain perfection in this particular, would ſeem incredible, did not he himſelf atteſt it in ſeveral places. He ſhould be the model to youth, in this and every thing elſe. To imbibe Rhetoric from the very fountain, to conſult able maſters, to read carefully the antients and moderns, to be conſtantly employed in compoſing and tranſlating, and to make his language a particular ſtudy: theſe were the exerciſes which Cicero thought neceſſary to form the great orator.

5. But of all the qualifications of an orator, action and utterance are the moſt neglected; and yet nothing contributes more towards giving ſucceſs to ſpeeches.

[e] Cùm ad inveniendum in dicendo tria ſint, acumen, ratio, diligentia; non poſſum equidem non ingenio primas concedere: ſed tamen ipſum ingenium diligentia etiam ex traditate incitat. . . . Hæc præcipuè colenda eſt nobis; hæc ſemper adhibenda; hæc nihil eſt quod non aſſequatur. . . . Reliqua ſunt in curâ, attentione animi, cogitatione, vigilantiâ, aſſiduitate, labore; complectar uno verbo, quo ſæpe jam uſi ſumus, diligentiâ; quâ unâ virtute omnes virtutes reliquæ continentur. 2. de Orat. n. 147, 148, 150.

[f] That

[f] That external Eloquence, as Cicero calls it, which is adapted to the capacities of all auditors, in regard it ſpeaks to the ſenſes only, has ſomething ſo enchanting and dazzling, that it often ſupplies the place of every other merit, and ſets a lawyer of no great parts above thoſe of the greateſt abilities. [g] Every one has heard the celebrated anſwer of Demoſthenes, concerning the qualification which he thought moſt neceſſary in an orator, the want whereof could leaſt be concealed, and which at the ſame time was beſt adapted to conceal the reſt. This induced him to make incredible efforts to ſucceed in it. Cicero imitated him in that, as in every thing elſe; and he was in ſome meaſure obliged to it, from the deſire he had to equal Hortenſius, who excelled in that particular. The example of both ought to have great weight with young lawyers.

6. A great many of theſe, in my opinion, want a certain quinteſſence of polite literature and erudition, which embelliſh, however, and enrich the underſtanding vaſtly, and diffuſe a delicacy and beauty over diſcourſe, which it can have from no other ſource. The reading of ancient authors, the Greeks eſpecially, is very much neglected. How cloſely did Cicero ſtudy them? orators, poets, hiſtorians, philoſophers, he was acquainted with them all, and made them all of ſervice to him; and the latter more than the reſt. Young lawyers ought not to attempt pleading too ſoon, but ſhould employ their time, at their firſt ſetting out, in acquiring a valuable and neceſſary fund of knowledge, which cannot be attained afterwards. I own the practice of the Bar is the beſt maſter, and moſt capable of making them great lawyers; but it ſhould not conſiſt, at firſt, in frequent pleading. There we liſten aſſiduouſly to great orators, we ſtudy their ge-

[f] Eſt actio quaſi corporis quædam eloquentia. Nam & infantes, actionis dignitate, eloquentiæ ſæpe fructum tulerunt: & diſerti, deformitate agendi, multi infantes putati ſunt. Orat. n. 55, 56.

[g] Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hâc ſummus orator eſſe in numero nullo poteſt: mediocris, hâc inſtructus, ſummos ſæpe ſuperare. Huic primas dediſſe Demoſthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo eſſet primum: huic ſecundas, huic tertias. 3. de Orat. n. 213.

nius, we obſerve their action, we are attentive to the opinions which the learned give of them; and thus we endeavour to improve equally by their perfections and defects.

7. If it ſhould be aſked, what is the proper age for being called to the Bar, and pleading at it? I anſwer, that is a thing which cannot be brought to any fixed rule; and Quintilian's advice upon it is very prudent. "[b] A medium, ſays he, muſt be obſerved; ſo that "a youth ſhould not expoſe himſelf in public before "he is capable of doing it with advantage; nor make "a parade of his knowledge, while it is crude and in- "digeſted, if I may uſe the expreſſion: for by that "means he will deſpiſe pains and ſtudy; impudence "takes deep root in him; and, what is a greater "misfortune, confidence and boldneſs precede vi- "gour and ſtrength. But he muſt not, on the other "hand, wait till he grows old, for then he will grow "more timid every day: and the longer he delays, "the more fearful he will be to venture to ſpeak in "public: ſo that, whilſt he is deliberating whether "it is time to begin, he finds it is too late."

8. It were very much to be wiſhed, that the cuſtom obſerved formerly among the Romans, ſhould take place among us: and that the houſes of old lawyers ſhould be, as it were, the ſchool of the youth deſigned for the Bar. What can be more worthy a great orator, than to conclude the glorious courſe of his pleading, by ſo honourable a function? [i] We ſhall ſee, ſays Quintilian, a whole company of ſtudious young people frequenting his houſe, and conſulting him upon the

[b] Modus mihi videtur quidam tenendus, ut neque præpropere diſtringatur immatura frons, & quicquid eſt illud adhuc acerbum proferatur. Nam inde & contemptus operis innaſcitur, & fundamenta jaciuntur impudentiæ, & (quod eſt ubique pernicioſiſſimum) prævenit vires fiducia. Nec rurſus differendum eſt tyrocinium in ſenectutem. Nam quotidie metus creſcit, majuſque fit ſemper quod auſuri ſumus: &, dum deliberamus quando incipiendum ſit, incipere jam ſerum eſt. Quint. l. 12. c. 6.

[i] Frequentabunt ejus domum optimi juvenes more veterum: & veram dicendi viam velutex oraculo petent. Hos ille formabit quaſi eloquentiæ parens, &, ut vetus gubernator, littora, & portus, & quæ tempeſtatum ſigna, quid ſecundis flatibus, quid adverſis ratis poſcat, docebit. Quint. l. 12. c. 11.

proper

proper methods of ſpeaking. He forms them, as though he were the father of Eloquence; and, like an old experienced pilot, points out to them the courſe they are to ſteer, and the rocks they muſt ſhun, when he ſees them ready to ſet ſail.

ARTICLE THE THIRD.

Of the LAWYER'S MORALS.

I DID not think proper to conclude this little treatiſe on the Eloquence of the Bar, without ſaying ſomething of the lawyer's morals, and the chief qualifications requiſite to his profeſſion. Youth will find this ſubject treated in all the extent it deſerves, in the twelfth book of Quintilian's inſtitutions, which is the moſt elaborate and moſt uſeful part of his work.

I. PROBITY.

Cicero and Quintilian lay it down as an indiſputable principle, in ſeveral parts of their works, that Eloquence ſhould not be ſeparated from probity; that the talent of ſpeaking well ſuppoſes and requires that of living well; and that to be an orator, a man muſt be virtuous, agreeable to Cato's definition: *Orator vir bonus dicendi peritus.* [*k*] Without this, ſays Quintilian, Eloquence, which is the moſt beautiful gift that nature can beſtow upon man, and by which ſhe has diſtinguiſhed him, in a particular manner from other living creatures, would prove a fatal preſent to him; and be ſo far from doing him any ſervice, that ſhe would treat him as a ſtep-mother, and like an enemy, rather than a mother, in imparting a talent to him for

[*k*] Si vis illa dicendi malitiam inſtruxerit, nihil ſit publicis privatiſque rebus perniciosius eloquentiâ. . . . Rerum ipſa natura, in eo quod præcipuè indulſiſſe homini videtur, quoque nos à cæteris animalibus ſeparaſſe, non parens, ſed noverca fuerit, ſi facultatem dicendi ſociam ſcelerum, adverſam innocentiæ, hoſtem veritatis invenit. Mutos enim naſci, & egere omni ratione ſatius fuiſſet quàm providentiæ munera in mutuam perniciem convertere. Quint. l. 12. c. 1.

no other end, but to oppreſs innocence, and fight againſt truth, like the putting a ſword into the hands of a madman. It would be better, adds he, that a man ſhould be deſtitute of ſpeech, and even of reaſon, than to employ them to ſuch pernicious ends.

The ſlighteſt attention will diſcover how neceſſary honeſty is to a pleader. His whole deſign is to perſuade; [*l*] and the ſureſt way of affecting it is to prepoſſeſs the judge in his favour, ſo that he may look upon him as a man of veracity and candour, full of honour and ſincerity; who may be entirely truſted; is a mortal enemy to a lie, and incapable of tricks and cunning. In his pleadings, he ſhould appear not only with the zeal of an advocate, but with the authority of a witneſs. The reputation he has acquired of being an honeſt man, will give great weight to his arguments: whereas, when an orator is diſeſteemed, or even ſuſpected by the judges, 'tis an unhappy omen to the cauſe.

II. DISINTERESTEDNESS.

[*m*] The queſtion treated by Quintilian, in the laſt book of his Rhetoric, whether lawyers ought to plead without fees or gratuity, does not ſquare with the manners or cuſtoms of our days; but the principles he there lays down ſuit all ages and times.

[*n*] He begins with declaring, that it would be infinitely more noble and becoming men of ſo honourable a profeſſion, not to ſell their ſervice, nor debaſe the merit of ſo great a benefit, ſince moſt things may ſeem contemptible, when a price is ſet upon them.

[*l*] Pluriumum ad omnia momenti eſt in hoc poſitum, ſi vir bonus creditur. Sic enim continget, ut non ſtudium advocati videatur afferre, ſed penè teſtis fidem. Quint. l. 4. c. 1.

Sic proderit plurimum cauſis, quibus ex ſua bonitate faciet fidem. Nam qui, dum dicit, malus videtur, utique malè dicit. L. 6. c. 2.

Videtur talis advocatus malæ cauſæ argumentum. L. 12. c. 1.

[*m*] Quint. l. 12. c. 7.

[*n*] Quis ignorat quin id longè ſit honeſtiſſimum, ac liberalibus diſciplinis & illo quem exigimus animo digniſſimum, non vendere operam, nec elevare tanti beneficii auctoritatem! cùm pleraque hoc ipſo poſſunt videri vilia, quod pretium habent.

[*o*] He

[o] He afterwards owns, that if a lawyer has not eſtate enough of his own, he is then allowed, by the laws of all wiſe legiſlators, to accept ſome gratuity from the party he pleads for; ſince no acquiſition can be more juſt than that which proceeds from ſuch honeſt labour, and is given by thoſe for whom we have performed ſuch important ſervices; and who would certainly be very unworthy, if they failed to acknowledge them. Beſides, as the time which a lawyer beſtows upon other people's affairs prevents him from thinking of his own, it is not only juſt, but neceſſary, he ſhould not loſe by his profeſſion.

[p] But Quintilian would have the lawyer, even in this caſe, keep within very narrow bounds; and be very watchful in obſerving the perſon from whom he receives any gratuity, together with the quantity, and time during which he receives it. By which he ſeems to inſinuate, that the poor ſhould be ſerved *gratis*, and that he ſhould take but moderately even from the rich: in fine, that the lawyer ſhould forbear receiving any gratuity, after he has acquired a reaſonable fortune.

[q] He muſt never look upon what his clients offer him, as though it were a payment or a ſalary, but as a mark of friendſhip and acknowledgment; well knowing he does infinitely more for them than they do for him; and he muſt make this uſe of it, becauſe a good office of that kind ought neither to be ſold nor loſt.

[o] At ſi res familiaris amplius aliquid ad uſus neceſſarios exigit, ſecundùm omnes ſapientum leges patietur ſibi gratiam referri. . . Neque enim video quæ juſtior acquirendi ratio, quam ex honeſtiſſimo labore, & ab iis de quibus optimè meruerint, quique, ſi nihil invicem præſtent, indigni fuerint defenſione. Quod quidem non juſtum modò, ſed neceſſarium etiam eſt, cum hæc ipſa opera, tempuſque omne alienis negotiis datum, facultatem aliter acquirendi recidant.

[p] Sed tum quoque tenendus eſt modus: ac plurimùm refert & à quo accipiat, & quantum, & quouſque. . . . Nec quiſquam, qui ſufficientia ſibi (modica autem hæc ſunt) poſſidebit, hunc quæſtum ſine crimine ſordidum fecerit.

[q] Nihil ergo acquirere volet orator ultra quàm ſatis erit: nec pauper quidem tanquam mercedem accipiet, ſed mutuâ benevolentiâ utetur, cum ſciat ſe tanto plus præſtitiſſe; quia nec venire hoc beneficium oportet, nec perire.

[r] As

[r] As to the cuſtom of making agreements with clients, and taxing them in proportion to the nature of the cauſe, and the riſque they run; it is, ſays Quintilian, an abominable kind of traffic, fitter for a pirate than an orator, and which even thoſe who have but a ſlender love for virtue, will avoid.

Far therefore from the Bar, and ſo glorious a profeſſion, ſays he in another place, be thoſe mean and mercenary ſouls who make a trade of Eloquence, and think of nothing but ſordid gain. The precepts, ſays he, which I give concerning this art, do not ſuit any perſon who would be capable of computing how much he ſhall gain by his labours and ſtudy.

If a heathen has ſuch noble ſentiments and expreſſions, how much more glorious and diſintereſted ſhould the views of a lawyer be according to the principles of Chriſtianity? And indeed we ſee this ſpirit prevail among the lawyers of France. They are ſo delicate in this point, as to debar themſelves from bringing any actions for payments of their fees; and this they carry ſo far, that they would diſown any member of their profeſſion, who ſhould commence any ſuit, or retain his client's papers, in order to oblige him to make ſome acknowledgment for the aſſiſtance he had given him.

III. DELICACY *in the* CHOICE *of* CAUSES.

[s] As ſoon as we ſuppoſe the orator a worthy man, it is plain he can never undertake a cauſe he knows to be unjuſt. Juſtice and truth only have a right to the aſſiſtance of his voice. Guilt has no title to it, what

[r] Paciſcendi quidem ille piraticus mos, & imponentium periculis pretia procul abominanda negotiatio, etiam mediocriter improbis aberit.

Neque enim nobis operis amor eſt: nec, quia ſit honeſta atque pulcherrima rerum eloquentia, petitur ipſa, ſed ad vilem uſum & ſordidum lucrum accingimur. . . . Ne velim quidem lectorem dari mihi qui ſtudia referant computaturum. Quint. l. 1. c. 11.

[s] Non convenit ei quem oratorem eſſe volumus, injuſta tueri ſcientem. . . Neque defendet omnes orator: idemque portum illum eloquentiæ ſuæ ſalutarem, non etiam piratis patefaciet, duceturque in advocationem maximè causâ. Quint. l. 12. c. 7.

ſplendor

ſplendor or credit ſoever it may appear to have. His Eloquence is a ſanctuary for virtue only, and a ſafe haven for all, except pirates.

[*t*] Before therefore a man diſcharges the function of a lawyer, let him perform that of a judge: let him raiſe a kind of domeſtic tribunal in his cloſet, and there carefully, and without prejudice, weigh and examine the arguments of his clients, and pronounce a ſevere judgment againſt them, in caſe it be neceſſary.

[*u*] If even, in the courſe of the affair, he happens, by a ſtricter enquiry into the title, to diſcover, that the cauſe he undertook, ſuppoſing it honeſt, is unjuſt; he then muſt give his client notice of it, and not abuſe him any longer with vain hopes; and adviſe him not to proſecute a ſuit, which would prove very fatal to him, even though he ſhould gain it. If he ſubmits to his advice, he will do him great ſervice; if he deſpiſes it, he is unworthy of any farther aſſiſtance from his lawyer.

IV. PRUDENCE *and* MODERATION *in* PLEADING.

Theſe virtues are chiefly neceſſary on account of decency. There are certain polite and becoming rules in this point, which every orator and every gentleman ſhould obſerve inviolably. It is not neceſſary to remark that it [*x*] would be inhumane to inſult people in diſgrace, when their very condition entitles them to compaſſion, and who beſides may be unfortunate, without being criminal. [*y*] In general, our

[*t*] Sic cauſam perſcrutatus, propoſitis ante oculos omnibus quæ proſint noceantve, perſonam deinde induat judicis, fingatque apud ſe agi cauſam. Quint. l. 12. c. 8.

[*u*] Neque verò pudor obſtet, quominus ſuſceptam, cùm melior videretur, litem, cognitâ inter diſceptandum iniquitate, dimittat, cùm priùs litigatori dixerit verum. Nam & in hoc maximum, ſi æqui judices ſumus, beneficium eſt, ut non fallamus vanâ ſpe litigantem. Neque eſt dignus operâ patroni, qui non utitur conſilio. Ib. c. 7.

[*x*] Adverſus miſeros inhumanus eſt jocus.

[*y*] * Lædere nunquam velimus, longèque abſit propoſitum illud, potius amicum quàm dictum perdidi. Quint. l. 6. c. 4.

* *I am of opinion, that it ought to be read ſo, inſtead of* ludere, *as it is in all the editions.*

raillery

raillery ſhould be inoffenſive; and we muſt take care not to fall into the ſame error with thoſe, who would loſe a friend rather than a jeſt.

[z] There is nothing but moderation in uſing jeſts, and prudence in applying them, that diſtinguiſh an orator, in this reſpect, from a buffoon. The latter uſes them at all times, and without any occaſion: whereas the orator does it ſeldom, and always for ſome reaſon eſſential to his cauſe, and never barely to raiſe [a] laughter; which is a very trifling kind of pleaſure, and argues a mean genius.

[b] Repartees give occaſion ſometimes for delicate raillery; ſo much the more ſprightly, as it is conciſe; and as it flies in an inſtant like a dart, piercing almoſt before perceived. Theſe pleaſantries, which are neither ſtudied nor prepared, are much more graceful than thoſe we bring from our cloſets, which often, for that very reaſon, appear frigid and puerile. Beſides, the adverſary has no reaſon to complain, becauſe he brought the raillery upon himſelf, and can impute it to nothing but his own imprudence. [c] *Why do you bark?* ſaid Philip one day to Catulus, alluding to his name, and the great noiſe he made in pleading: *Becauſe I ſee a thief*, anſwered Catulus.

[d] Repartees of this kind require a great preſence and celerity of mind, if we may uſe the expreſſion; for they afford no time for reflection; and the blow

[z] Temporis ratio, & ipſius dicacitatis moderatio, & temperantia, & raritas dictorum, diſtinguit oratorem à ſcurrâ: & quod nos cum causâ dicimus, non ut ridiculi videamur, ſed ut proficiamus aliquid; illi totum diem, & ſine causâ. 2. de Orat. n. 247.

[a] Riſum quæſivit: qui eſt, meâ ſententiâ, vel tenuiſſimus ingenii fructus. Ibid.

[b] Dicacitas poſita eſt in hac veluti jaculatione verborum, & inclusâ breviter urbanitate. Quint. l. 6. c. 4.

Ante illud facetè dictum hærere debet, quam cogitari poſſe videatur. 2. de Orat. n. 219.

Omnia probabiliora ſunt, quæ laceſſiti dicimus, quam quæ priores. Nam & ingenii celeritas major eſt quæ apparet in reſpondendo, & humanitatis eſt reſponſio. Videremur enim quieturi fuiſſe, niſi effenius laceſſiti. 2. de Orat. n. 230.

Quæſita, nec ex tempore ficta, ſed domo allata, pleruinque ſunt frigida. Orat. n. 89.

[c] Catulus, dicenti Philippo, QUID LATRAS? FUREM, inquit, VIDEO. 2. de Orat. n. 220.

[d] Opus eſt imprimis ingenio veloci ac mobili, animo præſenti & acri. Non enim cogitandum, ſed dicendum ſtatim eſt, & propè ſub conatu adverſarii manus erigenda. Quint. l. 6. c. 5.

muſt

muſt be given the inſtant we are attacked. But they require great prudence and moderation. [*e*] For how much muſt a man be maſter of his temper, to ſuppreſs, even in the very heat of action or debate, a ſmart ſaying and joke which ſtarts up on a ſudden, and might do us honour; but would at the ſame time offend perſons whom we are obliged to treat with deference? The way to ſucceed in it, is to ſlight, and not pique ourſelves upon ſo dangerous a talent; and to acquire a habit of ſpeaking moderately and with caution, in converſation and common life.

If a lawyer is not allowed to uſe harſh and offenſive raillery, with how much more reaſon ought he to abſtain from groſs language? [*f*] This is an inhumane kind of pleaſure, unworthy of a gentleman, and which muſt neceſſarily diſguſt a prudent auditor. Yet ſome clients, often more ſolicitous to revenge than defend themſelves, extort this kind of Eloquence from the orator: and are not pleaſed with him, if he does not dip his pen in the bittereſt gall. But who is the lawyer, if he has any ſentiments of honour or probity left, that would thus blindly gratify the ſpleen and reſentment of his client; become violent and paſſionate at his nod, and make himſelf the unworthy miniſter of another's fooliſh rage, from a ſordid ſpirit of avarice, or a miſtaken deſire of falſe glory?

V. WISE EMULATION *remote from* MEAN *and* LOW JEALOUSY.

No place, in my opinion, is more proper to excite and cheriſh a lively and prudent emulation, than the Bar. It is a great concourſe of people in whom the

[*e*] Hominibus facetis & dicacibus difficillimum eſt habere hominum rationem & temporum, & ea quæ occurrant, cùm falſiſſimè dici poſſint, tenere. 2. de Orat. n. 221.

[*f*] Turpis voluptas, & inhumana, & nulli audientium bono grata; à litigatoribus quidem frequenter exigitur, qui ultionem malunt quam defenſionem. Hoc quidem quis hominum liberi modò ſanguinis ſuſtineat, petulans eſſe ad alterius arbitrium? . . . Orator à viro bono, in rabulam latratoremque convertitur, compoſitus, non ad animum judicis, ſed ad ſtomachum litigatoris. Quint. l. 12. c. 9.

moſt

moſt valuable qualities are united; ſuch as beauty and force of genius, delicacy of wit, ſolidity of judgment, a refined taſte, a vaſt extent of knowledge, and long experience. There we ſee combats fought every day between famous champions, in the preſence of learned and judicious magiſtrates, and amidſt an extraordinary concourſe of ſpectators, drawn thither by the importance of the affairs, and the reputation of the ſpeakers. There Eloquence exhibits herſelf in every ſhape; in one, grave and ſerious; in another, ſprightly and gay; ſometimes unprepared and negligent; at others in her fineſt attire, and arrayed with all her ornaments; diffuſive or contracted, ſoft or ſtrong, ſublime and majeſtic, or more ſimple and familiar, as cauſes vary. Not a ſingle word is there loſt; no beauty, no defect, eſcape the attentive and intelligent auditors; and whilſt the judges on one hand, with the ſcale in their hands, in the preſence and in the name of Supreme Juſtice, determine the fate of private perſons; the public, on the other, in a tribunal no leſs inacceſſible to favour, determine concerning the merit and reputation of lawyers, and paſs a ſentence, from which there is no appeal.

Nothing, in my opinion, can raiſe the glory of the Bar more, than to ſee ſuch a ſpirit of equity and modetion prevail in the body of lawyers, as gives every one his due, and baniſhes all jealouſy and envy, and that amidſt all thoſe exerciſes which are ſo capable of fomenting ſelf-love; and when the antient lawyers, almoſt upon the point of quitting the liſts, in which they have been ſo frequently crowned, joyfully ſee a new ſwarm of young orators entering, in order to ſucceed them in their labours, and ſupport the honour of a profeſſion that is ſtill dear to them, and for which they cannot forbear intereſting themſelves; and when the latter, ſo far from ſuffering themſelves to be dazzled by their growing reputation, pay a great deference to their ſeniors, and reſpect them as their fathers and maſters; in a word, when the ſame emulation prevails among the young lawyers, which was ſeen formerly between

between Hortenſius and Cicero, of which the latter has left us a fine deſcription. [*g*] I was very far, ſays he, ſpeaking of Hortenſius, from looking upon him as an enemy, or a dangerous rival. I loved and eſteemed him as the ſpectator and companion of my glory. I was ſenſible how advantageous it was for me to have ſuch an adverſary, and the honour which accrued to me from having ſometimes an opportunity to diſpute the victory with him. Neither of us ever oppoſed the other's intereſt. It was a pleaſure to us to aſſiſt one another, by communicating our lights, giving advice mutually, and ſupporting each other by reciprocal eſteem; which had ſuch an effect, that each placed his friend above himſelf.

The Bar therefore may be an excellent ſchool for young lawyers, not only with regard to Eloquence, but to virtue, if they are capable of improving by the good examples it affords. They are young and unexperienced, and conſequently ought to determine little, but to hear and conſult very much. How great ſoever their underſtandings or abilities may be, they yet ought to be very modeſt. This virtue, which is the ornament of their age, at the ſame time that it ſeems to conceal, ſets off their merit the more. But above all, they ſhould ſhun that mean kind of jealouſy which is tortured at another's glory and reputation; that ought to [*h*] form the band of friendſhip and unity. They muſt, I ſay, ſhun jealouſy, as the moſt

[*g*] Dolebam quòd non, ut plerique putabant, adverſarium aut obtrectatorem laudum mearum, ſed ſocium petiùs & conſortem glorioſi laboris amiſeram. . . Quo enim animo ejus mortem ferre debui, cum quo certare erat glorioſius, quàm omnino adverſarium non habere? cum præſertim non modò nunquam ſit, aut illius à me curſus impeditus, aut ab illo meus, ſed contrà ſemper alter ab altero adjutus & communicando, & monendo, & favendo. Brut. n. 243.

Sic duodecim poſt meum conſulatum annos in maximis cauſis, cùm ego mihi illum, ſibi me ille anteferret, conjunctiſſimè verſati ſumus. Ibid. n. 323.

[*h*] Æqualitas veſtra, & artium ſtudiorumque quaſi finitima vicinitas, tantum abeſt ab obtrectatione invidiæ, quæ ſolet lacerare pleroſque, uti ea non modò non exulcerare veſtram gratiam, ſed etiam conciliare videatur. Brut. n. 156.

ſhameful

ſhameful of vices, the moſt unworthy a man of honour, and the greateſt enemy to ſociety.

SECT. IV.

Of the ELOQUENCE *of the* PULPIT.

SAINT Auſtin, in his excellent work, called *the Chriſtian Doctrine*, which we cannot recommend too much to the profeſſors of Rhetoric, diſtinguiſhes two things in the Chriſtian orator; what he ſays, and his manner of ſaying it; the things in themſelves, and the method of diſcuſſing them, which he calls *ſapienter dicere*, *eloquenter dicere*. I will begin with the latter, and conclude with the former.

FIRST PART.

Of the MANNER *in which a* PREACHER *ought to* DELIVER HIMSELF.

[*i*] Saint Auſtin, purſuant to Cicero's plan of the duties of an orator, tells us they conſiſt in inſtructing, pleaſing, and moving the paſſions. *Dixit quidam eloquens, & verum dixit, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat* [*k*]. He repeats the ſame thing in other terms, ſaying, the Chriſtian orator muſt ſpeak in ſuch a manner as to be heard *intelligenter*, *libenter*, *obedienter*; *viz.* that we ſhould comprehend what he ſays, hear it with pleaſure, and conſent to what he would perſuade us. [*l*] For preaching has three ends: That the truth ſhould be known to us, ſhould be heard with pleaſure, and move us. *Ut veritas pateat, ut veritas placeat, ut veritas moveat.* I ſhall purſue the ſame plan, and go through the three duties of a Chriſtian orator.

[*i*] De doctr. chr. l. 4. n. 27. [*l*] De doctr. chr. n. 61.
[*k*] N. 30.

I. DUTY

I. DUTY *of a* PREACHER.

To INSTRUCT, *and for that end to* SPEAK CLEARLY.

Since the preacher ſpeaks in order to inſtruct, and has equal obligations to all, to the ignorant and the poor, as much, and perhaps more, than to the learned and the rich; his chief care ſhould be to make himſelf clearly underſtood: every thing muſt contribute to this end: the diſpoſition, the thoughts, the expreſſion, and the utterance.

It is a vicious taſte in ſome orators, [*m*] to imagine they are very profound, when much is required to comprehend them. They do not conſider, that every diſcourſe which wants an interpreter, is a very bad one. [*n*] The ſupreme perfection in a preacher's ſtyle ſhould be to pleaſe the unlearned as well as the learned, by exhibiting an abundance of beauties for the latter, and being very perſpicuous for the former. But in caſe thoſe advantages cannot be united, [*o*] St. Auſtin would have us ſacrifice the firſt to the ſecond, and neglect ornaments, and even purity of diction, if it will contribute to make us more intelligible; becauſe it is for that end we ſpeak. This ſort of neglect, which requires ſome genius and art, as [*p*] he obſerves after Cicero, and which proceeds from our being more attentive to things than to words, muſt not, however, be carried ſo far as to make the diſcourſe low and grovelling, but only clearer, and more intelligible.

St. Auſtin wrote at firſt againſt the Manichees, in a florid and ſublime ſtyle; whence his writings were

[*m*] Tunc demum ingenioſi ſcilicet, ſi ad intelligendos nos opus ſit ingenio. Quint. in Præm. l. 8. c. 2.

Otioſum (*or*, vitioſum) ſermonem dixerim, quem auditor ſuo ingenio non intelligit. Ibid.

[*n*] Ita & ſermo doctis probabilis, & planus imperitis erit. Ibid.

[*o*] Cujus evidentiæ diligens appetitus aliquando negligit verba cultiora, nec curat quid benè ſonet, ſed quid indicet atque intimet quod oſtendere intendit. Unde ait quidam, cum de tali genere locutionis ageret, eſſe in eâ quandam diligentem negligentiam. Hæc tamen ſic detrahit ornatum, ut ſordes non contrahat. S. Auguſt. de doct. chriſt. l. 4. n. 24.

Melius eſt reprehendant nos grammatici, quàm non intelligant populi. Idem in Pſal. cxxxviii.

[*p*] Indicat non ingratam negligentiam, de re hominis magis, quàm de verbis, laborantis. . . . Quædam etiam negligentia eſt diligens. Orat. n. 77, 78.

not intelligible to thoſe who had but a moderate ſhare of learning, at leaſt not without great difficulty. [q] Upon this he was told, that if he deſired to have his works more generally uſeful, he muſt write in the plain and common ſtyle, which has this advantage over the other, that it is equally intelligible to the learned and the unlearned. The holy father received this advice with his uſual humility, and made proper uſe of it in the books he afterwards wrote againſt the heretics, and in his ſermons. His example ought to be a rule to all thoſe who are to inſtruct others.

As obſcurity is the fault which the preacher ſhould chiefly avoid, and that his auditors are not allowed to intercept him, when they meet with any thing obſcure; [r] St. Auſtin adviſes him to read in the eyes and countenances of his auditors, whether they underſtand him or not; and to repeat the ſame thing, by giving it different turns, till he perceives he is underſtood; an advantage which thoſe cannot have, who, by a ſervile dependance on their memories, learn their ſermons by heart, and repeat them as ſo many leſſons.

[s] That which generally occaſions obſcurity in diſcourſe, is our endeavouring to explain ourſelves always with brevity and conciſeneſs. One had better ſay too much than too little. A ſtyle that is every where ſprightly and conciſe, ſuch as that of Salluſt or of Tertullian, for inſtance, may ſuit works which are

[q] Me benevolentiſſimè monuerunt: ut communem loquendi conſuetudinem non deſererem, ſi errores illos tam perniciosos ab animis etiam imperatorum expellere cogitarem. Hunc enim ſermonem uſitatum & ſimplicem etiam docti intelligunt, illum autem indocti non intelligunt. De Gen. contra Manich. l. 1. c. 1.

[r] Ubi omnes tacent ut audiatur unus, & in eum intenta ora convertunt, ibi ut requirat quiſque quod non intellexerit, nec moris eſt, nec decoris: ac per hoc debet maximè tacenti ſubvenire cura dicentis. Solet autem motu ſuo ſignificare tutrùm intellexerit cognoſcendi avida multitudo; quod donec ſignificet, verſandum eſt quod agitur multimoda varietate dicendi: quod in poteſtate non habent, qui preparata & ad verbum memoriter retenta pronunciant. S. Aug. de doctr. chriſt. l. 4. n. 25.

[s] Cavenda, quæ nimiùm corripientes omnia ſequitur, obſcuritas; ſatiuſque eſt aliquid (rationi) ſupereſſe, quàm deeſſe. . . Vitanda illa Salluſtiana (quanquam in ipſo virtutis locum obtinet) brevitas, & abruptum ſermonis genus, quod otioſum fortaſsè lectorem minùs fallit, audientem tranſvolat, nec dum repetatur exſpectat. Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

not

not intended to be ſpoken, and give the reader time and liberty to read them over and over again; but it is not proper for a ſermon, the rapidity of which might eſcape the moſt attentive auditor. [t] It muſt not even be ſuppoſed, that he is always ſo; and conſequently the diſcourſe ought to be ſo clear, as to reach even the moſt unattentive, in like manner as the ſun ſtrikes our eyes, without our thinking of it, and almoſt in ſpite of us. The ſupreme effect of this quality does not conſiſt in making ourſelves underſtood, but in ſpeaking in ſuch a manner that we cannot be miſunderſtood.

The NECESSITY *of* PERSPICUITY *in* CATECHISTS.

The neceſſity of the principle I have now laid down, appears in its greateſt evidence with regard to the firſt inſtructions given to young people, which I look upon as a primary kind of preaching, more difficult than is generally imagined, and oftentimes more uſeful than the brighteſt and moſt laboured diſcourſes. It is allowed that a catechiſt, who teaches children the firſt elements of religion, cannot be too clear and intelligible. No thought or expreſſion ſhould fall from him, above their capacities. Every thing ought to be adapted to their ſtrength, or rather to their weakneſs. We muſt ſay but few things to them, expreſs them clearly, and repeat them often; we muſt not ſpeak haſtily, or with rapidity, but pronounce every ſyllable articulately; give them ſhort and clear definitions, and always in the ſame words; make the ſeveral truths evident to them by known examples, and familiar compariſons; ſpeak little to them, and make them ſpeak a great deal; which is one of the

[t] Idipſum in conſilio eſt habendum, non ſemper tam eſſe acrem (auditoris intentionem, ut obſcuritatem apud ſe ipſe diſcutiat, & tenebris orationis inſerat quoddam intelligentiæ ſuæ lumen; ſed multis eum frequenter cogitationibus avocari, niſi tam clara fuerint quæ dicemus, ut in animum ejus oratio, ut ſol in oculos, etiamſi non intendatur, incurrat. Quare, non ut intelligere poſſit, ſed ne omnino poſſit non intelligere, curandum. Quint. l. 8. c. 2.

moſt eſſential duties of a catechiſt, and the leaſt practiſed; and above all, muſt call to mind the happy ſaying of Quintilian, [u] that a child's mind is like a a veſſel with a narrow neck, in which no water will enter, if poured abundantly into it; whereas it fills inſenſibly, if the liquid be poured gently, or even by drops. The catechiſt muſt proceed gradually from theſe plain ſteps, to ſomething ſtronger and more elevated, according to the proficiency he obſerves in the children; but he muſt always take care to adapt himſelf to their capacity, and their weakneſs; and to deſcend to them, becauſe they are not in a condition to raiſe themſelves to him.

This taſk, which is one of the moſt important in the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry, is not, generally ſpeaking, eſteemed or reſpected enough. People ſeldom prepare themſelves for it with the care it deſerves: and as the difficulty and importance of it are little known, we too often neglect the means which might facilitate its ſucceſs. Whoever takes this charge upon himſelf, ought to peruſe with great attention St. Auſtin's admirable treatiſe upon the method of inſtructing catechumens, in which that great man, after laying down excellent rules upon this point, proceeds to propoſe a plan of the beſt method (in his opinion) for inſtructing them in the principles of religion.

I think it would be of great advantage to form a general ſcheme or plan for catechiſing in pariſhes, to ſerve as a foundation for all the inſtructions neceſſary, and regulate both the matter and diſpoſition; ſo that all the catechiſms might contain the ſame inſtructions, but treated in a more or leſs extenſive manner, as the children ſhould be more or leſs improved. Theſe catechiſms may be divided into three claſſes, the firſt

[u] Magiſtri hoc opus eſt, cùm adhuc rudia tractabit ingenia, non ſtatim onerare infirmitatem diſcentium, ſed temperare vires ſuas, & ad intellectum audientis deſcendere. Nam ut vaſcula oris anguſti ſuperfuſam humoris copiam reſpuunt, ſenſim autem influentibus, vel etiam inſtillatis, complentur, ſic animi puerorum quantum accipere poſſint videndum eſt. Nam majora intellectu velut parùm aptos ad percipiendum animos non ſubibunt. Quint. l. 1. cap. 3.

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for beginners, the second for those who have already received some instructions, and the third for such as are more advanced, and are prepared for receiving the first communion, or have lately received it. I suppose children to continue in each class about two years; in which time, the plan I have now mentioned, be it what it will, is to be explained to them (for it is highly reasonable to leave it to the choice and prudence of the person who is at the head of the catechists) always subjoining the catechism of the diocese. The matters should at first be treated briefly, and in general terms, because they are calculated for children. M. Fleury's catechism is excellent for beginners, and may be looked upon as the execution of the plan which St. Augustine gives us in his treatise. The same matters are repeated in the second and third classes; but in a new method, which is always an improvement of that which preceded, by adding to it new lights, and more efficacious truths. Would not religion be thus taught thoroughly? I have seen some children, even among the poor, make surprisingly clear responses upon very difficult subjects, which could be owing to nothing but the master's order and method of teaching, and which shews that young people are capable of every thing, when they are well instructed.

I own, that nothing is more tedious or distasteful to a man of genius, who has often a great deal of vivacity, than thus to teach the first principles of religion to children, who very often want either capacity or attention. But must not others have had the same patience with us, when they taught us the alphabet, orthography, and the joining of words; and when we ourselves learnt the catechism? [x] Is it agreeable to

[x] Num delectat, nisi amor invitet, decurtata & mutilata verba immurmurare? Et tamen optant homines habere infantes quibus id exhibeant: & suavius est matri minuta mansa inspuere parvulo filio, quam ipsam mandere ac devorare grandiora. Non ergo recedat de pectore etiam cogitatio gallinæ illius, quæ languidulis pennis tene-

to a father, says St. Austin, to stammer out half words with his son, in order to teach him to speak? Yet this gives him great pleasure. Does not a mother take more delight in putting aliment into her infant's mouth, suitable to its weak and tender condition, than to take the nourishment proper for herself? We must perpetually call to mind the tenderness of a hen who covers her young ones with her extended wings; and hearing their feeble cries, calls them with a faltering voice, in order to shelter them from the bird of prey, who unrelentingly snatches away such as do not fly for safety to their mother's wings. [y] The love and charity of Christ, who vouchsafed to apply this comparison to himself, has been infinitely more extensive, and it was in imitation of him, that St. Paul [z] *made himself weak with the weak, in order to gain the weak*; and had for all the faithful, *the gentleness and* [a] *tenderness of a nurse and a mother.*

[b] This, says St. Austin, is what we must represent to ourselves, when we are tired or disgusted; when we are weary of descending to the *puerility* and weakness of children; and to repeat incessantly to them the most trite things, and run them over a hundred times. It often happens, continues the same father, that we take a singular pleasure, in shewing friends newly arrived at the city we live in, whatever is beautiful, uncommon, or curious; and the sweetness of friendship diffuses a secret charm over things which would otherwise appear exceeding tiresome, and gives them, as to ourselves, all the graces of novelty. [c] Why should not charity produce the same effects in us that friendship does, especially when the

ros fœtus operit, & susurrantes pullos confractâ voce advocat: cujus blandas alas refugientes superbi, prædæ fiunt alitibus. De catechiz. rudib. c. 10 & 12.

[y] Matt. xxiii. 37.

[z] 1 Cor. ix. 22.

[a] 1 Thess. ii. 7.

[b] Si usitata, & parvulis congruentia sæpe repetere fastidimus . . . ad infirmitatem discentium piget descendere . . . cogitemus quid nobis prærogatum sit ab illo . . . *qui, cum in formâ Dei esset, semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens.* De catech. rud. cap. 10.

[c] Quanto ergo magis delectari nos oportet, cùm ipsum Deum jam discere homines accedunt, propter quem discenda sunt, quæcunque discenda sunt? Ibid. c. 12.

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thing propoſed tends towards making God himſelf known to men, who ought to be the end of all our knowledge, and of all our ſtudies?

I thought it my duty to enlarge a little upon the manner of framing catechiſms, which is not foreign to the end I propoſe to myſelf in this article, viz. of inſtructing youth in what relates to the Eloquence of the Pulpit. It is now time to proceed to the ſecond duty of preachers.

II. DUTY *of a* PREACHER.

To PLEASE, *and for that end, to* SPEAK *in a* FLORID *and* POLITE MANNER.

St. Auſtin recommends to the preacher to endeavour firſt, and above all things, to be clear and perſpicuous, but he does not pretend he muſt confine himſelf to that only. He would not have truth diveſted of the ornaments of ſpeech, which it alone has a right to employ. [*d*] He would have human Eloquence ſubſervient to the word of God, but not the word of God made the ſlave of human Eloquence. It often happens, that we cannot reach the heart but through the underſtanding, and that in order to affect the one, we muſt pleaſe the other. [*e*] It is an excellent quality, in his opinion, to love and to ſearch in the words only the things themſelves, and not the words: but he owns at the ſame time, that this quality is very uncommon; that in caſe truth is repreſented without ornaments, it will affect very few; [*f*] that ſpeech, like food, muſt be palatable in order to make it agreeable; and that in both, we muſt pay a regard to the delicacy of mankind, and gratify their taſte in ſome meaſure.

[*d*] Nec doctor verbis ſerviat, ſed verba doctori. De doctr. chriſt. l. 4. n. 61.

[*e*] Bonorum ingeniorum inſignis eſt indoles, in verbis verum amare, non verba. . . Quod tamen ſi fiat inſuaviter, ad paucos quidem ſtudioſiſſimos ſuus pervenit fructus. De catech. rud. n. 26.

[*f*] Sed quoniam inter ſe habent nonnullam ſimilitudinem veſcentes atque diſcentes, propter faſtidia plurimorum etiam ipſa, ſine quibus vivi non poteſt, alimenta condienda ſunt. Ibid.

It was for the same reason that the fathers of the church were far from forbidding those who were called to the ministry of the word, the reading antient authors and profane learning. [g] St. Austin declares, that all the truths found in heathen authors are our own, and consequently, we have a right to claim them as our property, by taking them out of the hands of those unjust possessors, in order to employ them to a better use. [b] He would have us leave to heathen writers their profane words and superstitious fictions, which every good Christian ought to abominate; after the example of the Israelites, who, by the command of God himself, plundered Egypt of her gold and most precious garments, without touching their idols; and that we should take from the heathen authors, those truths we find in them, and which are, as it were, the silver, the gold, and ornaments of discourse; and clothe our ideas with them, in order to make the one and the other subservient to the preaching of the gospel. [i] He cites a great number of fathers who thus made use of them, in imitation of Moses himself, who was carefully instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

St. Jerom treats the same topic more at large, in a fine letter [k], where he justifies himself from the reproaches of his adversaries, who imputed it as a crime in him, that he had employed profane learning in his writings. After pointing out several places in the scriptures, where heathen authors are cited, he

[g] De doctr. christ. l. 2. n. 6.

[b] Sic doctrinæ omnes gentilium, non solùm simulata & superstitiosa figmenta . . . quæ unusquisque nostrum duce Christo de societate gentilium exiens debet abominari atque devitare: sed etiam liberales disciplinas usui veritatis aptiores, & quædam morum præcepta utilissima continent . . . quæ tanquam aurum & argentum debet ab eis auferre christianus ad usum justum prædicandi evangelii. Vestem quoque illorum . . . accipere atque habere licuerit, in usum convertenda christianum. De doctr. christ. l. 2. n. 60.

[i] Nonne aspicimus quanto auro & argento & veste suffarcinatus exierit de Ægypto Cyprianus doctor suavissimus, & martyr beatissimus? De doctr. christ. n. 61. Vir eloquentiâ pollens & martyrio. S. Hieron.

[k] Quæris cur in opusculis nostris secularium literarum interdum ponamus exempla, & candorem Ecclesiæ Ethnicorum sordibus polluamus? S. Hieron. Epist. ad Magnum.

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makes a long enumeration of the eccleſiaſtical writers, who alſo made uſe of their teſtimony, in defence of the Chriſtian religion. Among the holy writers, he had named St. Paul, who quotes ſeveral paſſages from the Greek poets. "[*l*] And indeed, ſays he, he had learnt "from the true David, the way of forcing the ene- "my's weapon out of his own hand, in order to fight "him; and to cut off the head of the proud Goliah "with his own ſword."

It were therefore much to be wiſhed, that thoſe who are deſigned for the Pulpit ſhould begin by imbibing Eloquence at its ſource, that is, from the Greek and Latin authors, who have been always looked upon as maſters of the art of ſpeaking. [*m*] The ſacred orator ſhould have learnt from them the diſtribution of the ſeveral ornaments of diſcourſe, and this not barely to pleaſe the auditor, much leſs to gain a reputation, (motives which even heathen Rhetoric thought unworthy its orators,) but in order to make truth more amiable to men, by rendering her more lovely; and to engage them, by this kind of innocent allurement, to reliſh her holy ſweetneſs, and to practiſe her ſalutary leſſons with greater diligence and ſincerity.

It is well known that St. Ambroſe's Eloquence had this effect on St. Auſtin, though he was ſtill charmed with the beauties of profane Eloquence. [*n*] That great biſhop preached the word of God to his people with ſo many charms and graces, that all his auditors were tranſported with a kind of divine enthuſiaſm.

[*l*] Didicerat à vero David extorquere de manibus hoſtium gladium, & Goliæ ſuperbiſſimi caput proprio mucrone truncare. Ibid.

[*m*] Illud quod agitur genere temperato, id eſt ut eloquentia ipſa delectet, non eſt propter ſeipſum uſurpandum, ſed ut rebus quæ utiliter honeſteque dicuntur . . . aliquanto promptiùs & delectatione ipsâ elocutionis accedat, vel tenaciùs adhæreſcat aſſenſus. . . . Ita fit ut etiam temperati generis ornatu non jactanter, ſed prudenter utamur, non ejus fine contenti, quo tantùmmodo delectatur auditor: ſed hoc potiùs agentes, ut etiam ipſo ad bonum, quod perſuadere volumus, adjuvetur. S. Aug. de doct. chr. l. 4. n. 55.

[*n*] Veni ad Ambroſium Epiſcopum . . . cujus tunc eloquia ſtrenuè miniſtrabant adipem frumenti tui . . & ſobriam vini ebrietatem populo tuo. Confeſſ. l. 5. c. 13.

[*o*] St.

[o] St. Auſtin ſought only in the ſermons of that preacher, the flowers of language, and not the ſolidity of ſenſe; but it was not in his power to ſeparate them. He thought to have opened his underſtanding and heart to the beauties of diction only; but truth entered at the ſame time, and ſoon gained an abſolute ſovereignty over him.

He himſelf made the ſame uſe of Eloquence afterwards. We find the people were ſo raviſhed with his ſermons, that they beſtowed the utmoſt applauſes on them. He was, however, very far either from ſeeking or affecting thoſe applauſes; for his humility was ſo great, that they really afflicted him, and made him fear the ſecret and ſubtile contagion of that poiſoned vapour. [p] But whence ſhould ſuch frequent acclamations ariſe, but from this, viz. that truth, thus illuſtrated, and placed in her utmoſt ſplendor by a truly eloquent man, charms and tranſports the mind of man?

I cannot here avoid exhorting my readers to peruſe M. Arnaud's little treatiſe, entitled, *Reflections on the Eloquence of Preachers.* He there refutes part of the preface which M. du Blois his friend had prefixed to his tranſlation of St. Auſtin's ſermons, in which he pretended to ſhew, that moſt preachers followed a manner of preaching contrary to that of St. Auſtin, by making too much uſe of human Eloquence, which he thought improper for ſermons. This preface had dazzled great numbers, and was very much applauded. But they were greatly aſtoniſhed, when M. Arnaud's little treatiſe appeared, to find that almoſt the whole preface was founded upon falſe principles and reaſonings. It may be of uſe, and agreeable at the ſame time, to compare theſe two treatiſes, by firſt reading

[o] Cùm non ſatagerem diſcere quæ dicebat, ſed tantùm quemadmodum dicebat audire . . . veniebant in animum meum ſimul cum verbis quæ diligebam, res etiam quas negligebam: neque enim ea dirimere poteram. Et dum cor aperirem ad excipiendum quam diſertè diceret, pariter intrabat & quam verè diceret. Ibid. n. 14.

[p] Unde autem crebrò & multùm acclamatur ita dicentibus, niſi quia veritas ſic demonſtrata, ſic defenſa, ſic invicta, delectat? De doctr. chr. l. 4. n. 56.

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the preface, in order to see if we can find any fault in it; and then, by examining the refutation, to see whether it be just and solid, and supported by sound arguments.

The principle I have laid down from St. Austin's rules, viz. that the Christian orator may, and even ought to strive to please the auditor, must be kept within certain limits, and requires some illustration. Two defects must be avoided in preaching; the one consists in taking too much pains about the ornaments and graces of discourse, and the other in neglecting them. I shall say something of each.

FIRST DEFECT.

TAKING *too much* PAINS *about the* ORNAMENTS.

It is very blameable in a Christian orator, to endeavour more at pleasing than instructing his auditors; and to be more solicitous about words than things; to rely too much upon his labour and preparation; to enervate the force of the truths he is denouncing, by a puerile affectation of bright thoughts; in a word, to adulterate and corrupt God's word, by a vicious mixture of trifling ornaments.

[q] St. Jerom, whose taste for Eloquence and the graces of discourse are well known, could not suffer the Christian orator, (neglecting to instruct himself and others in the very principles of religion) to employ himself only as a declaimer, to please people; nor that the august Eloquence of the Pulpit should degenerate into a vain parade of words, fit for nothing more than to gain a little trifling applause. [r] St. Ambrose was of the same opinion, and would banish absolutely that kind of embroidery from preaching, whose only effect is to make thoughts more languid.

[q] Nolo te declamatorem esse & rabulam, garrulumque sine ratione.

Verba volvere, & celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est. S. Hieron. Epist. ad Nepot.

[r] Comment. l. 3.

Auser

Aufer mihi lenocinia fucumque verborum, quia ſolent enervare ſententias.

God tells us in Ezekiel, how much he deteſted the unhappy diſpoſition of the Iſraelites, [*s*] who inſtead of improving by the ſad predictions of his prophet, and being alarmed by them to their advantage, went to hear him only for diverſion's ſake, as to a concert of muſic. How much would he have reproached the prophet himſelf, had he given occaſion for ſo ſhameful an abuſe, through any fault or neglect of his, by endeavouring merely to gratify the ears of his auditors by a ſoft harmony and an empty ſound of words? This is the juſt character of ſermons, of which nothing remains but the unprofitable remembrance of the pleaſure they gave when ſpoke.

A certain heathen complained, that in his time theſe light graces of ſtyle, which ought to be employed in ſubjects of a leſs grave and ſerious nature, had done a kind of violence to good ſenſe and reaſon; and poſſeſſed themſelves, as it were, by force, even of the ſuits or cauſes in which the lives and fortunes of men were debated. [*t*] *In ipſa capitis aut fortunarum pericula irrupit voluptas.*

How much more ought this abuſe to be condemned in religious diſcourſes, in which the graveſt, and at the ſame time the moſt awful ſubjects are handled? In which it is intended, for inſtance, to humble and intimidate the ſinner in order to his ſalvation, by repreſenting the horrors of death to be nearer him than perhaps he imagines; the cry of the blood of Chriſt Jeſus, which demands vengeance for having been ſo long profaned; the anger of a juſtly exaſperated God, ready to fall upon his head; and hell open under his feet, in order to ſwallow him up?

[*u*] Is a preacher excuſable, amidſt ſuch great truths as theſe, to employ himſelf wholly on an empty pomp

[*s*] Ezek. xxxiii. 32.

[*t*] Quint. l. 4. c. 2.

[*u*] An quiſquam tulerit reum in diſcrimine capitis, decurrentibus periodis, quam lætiſſimis locis ſententiiſque dicentem? . . . Quò fugerit interim dolor ille? Ubi lachrymæ ſubſtiterint? Unde ſe in medium tam

pomp of elocution; to go in ſearch of bright thoughts, to make his periods harmonious, and to croud a ſet of empty figures one upon the other? What becomes in the mean time of that grief and ſadneſs which ought to pierce his ſoul whilſt he is diſcourſing on ſuch ſubjects, and which ought to make his whole diſcourſe one continued groan, as it were? Might we not juſtly be angry, ſhould the preacher endeavour to diſplay his genius, and had leiſure to act the fine ſpeaker, at a time when thunder and lightning only ſhould appear, and the moſt lively and animated emotions of the ſoul?

SECOND FAULT.

The being too NEGLIGENT *of the* ORNAMENTS *of* SPEECH.

Another fault in preaching, much more common than the former, and of infinitely worſe conſequence, is, the being too careleſs of the elocution; the not having a ſufficient reſpect for the audience, the appearing before them without almoſt any preparation, the ſpeaking extempore whatever occurs, frequently without order, choice, or juſtneſs; and by this affected negligence giving the hearers a diſtaſte and contempt for the word of God, which in itſelf is worthy of engaging the eſteem and awe of mankind, and ought to be their ſweeteſt conſolation, their moſt ſolid glory.

The aim and deſign which every worthy preacher propoſes in addreſſing himſelf to Chriſtians, is to perſuade them, in order to incline them to virtue, and to give them an abhorrence to vice; but all do not employ the neceſſary means to thoſe great ends, nor ſtu-

tam ſecura obſervatio artium miſerit? Non ab exordio uſque ad ultimam vocem continuus quidam gemitus, & idem triſtitiæ vultus ſervabitur? . . . Commoveaturne quiſquam ejus fortunâ, quem tumidum ac ſui jactantem, & ambitioſum inſtitorem eloquentiæ in ancipiti ſorte videat? Non imò oderit reum verba aucupantem, & anxium de famâ ingenii, & cui eſſe diſerto vacet. Quint. l. 11. c. 1.

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dy to ſpeak in a perſuaſive manner. It is this forms the difference between good and bad preachers. [x] The latter, ſays St. Auſtin, preach in a groſs, diſagreeable and cold manner, *obtusè*, *deformiter*, *frigidè*; the former with ingenuity, beauty and ſtrength, *acutè*, *ornatè*, *vehementer*.

The ſalvation of moſt Chriſtians, as well as their faith, depend on the word; but this word muſt be treated with art and ſkill, in order that the minds of people may be prepared to receive it. The ornament of ſpeech is one of the means conducive to this purpoſe, and the reaſon of it is very plain; viz. the auditor muſt not only hear what is ſpoke, but hear it willingly: [y] *volumus non ſolùm intelligenter, verùm etiam libenter audiri.* Now how can he hear it willingly, unleſs he is induced by pleaſure? [z] *Quis tenetur ut audiat, ſi non delectetur? . . .* [a] *Quis eum* (*oratorem*) *velit audire, niſi auditorem nonnullâ etiam ſuavitate detineat?* "Who can bear to hear an orator, if he be "not allured with ſomething ſweet and pleaſant?" But this ornament of ſpeech is not incompatible with ſimplicity; for this ſimplicity muſt not be groſs, tedious, and diſtaſteful: [b] *Nolumus faſtidiri etiam quod ſubmiſſe dicimus.* There is a medium between a far-fetched, florid, luminous; and a low, grovelling, careleſs ſtyle: and it is the medium between theſe that ſuits the preacher. [c] *Illa quoque eloquentia generis temperati apud eloquentem eccleſiaſticum, nec inornata relinquitur, nec indecenter ornatur.*

Chriſtians would know much more than they do, were they to frequent regularly their pariſh churches, which they are more indiſpenſably obliged do to than is generally imagined; and were ſermons written and delivered as they ought to be, which is a duty no leſs incumbent on the preacher. What affliction, what grief muſt thoſe feel, who have ſome idea of the importance of this miniſtry, to ſee their churches gene-

[x] De doctr. chriſt. l. 4. n. 7.
[y] N. 56.
[z] N. 58.
[a] N. 56.
[b] Ibid.
[c] N. 57.

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nerally empty, or very thin; especially if they are conscious that it is their cold, languid, tiresome, and often long-winded manner of speaking, which prevents their parishioners from coming to hear them? Hereby they are wanting in the most important duty of their function: they deceive the expectation of their hearers, who run eagerly in order to supply their necessities, but are obliged to return empty. They degrade the word of God by their careless delivery, and cause it to be looked upon with contempt and distaste. They dishonour the Divine Majesty, whose [*d*] ambassadors they are; and do not consider, that, should the envoy of an earthly monarch behave in this manner, he would be justly looked upon by his sovereign as a prevaricator.

They are far from observing the conduct of that Greek * orator, who never spoke in public till he had duly prepared himself for it; and besought the gods before he came out of his house, not to suffer one word to fall from him unworthy of his auditors: or of that Roman orator, who though so eminent, declares, [*e*] that he never pleaded any cause, till after he had taken all the pains requisite for that purpose. I dare not translate the words which Quintilian [*f*] levels against that lawyer, who should be wanting in this duty, so essential to his profession, but which is much more so to that of a minister of the word of God, on which the salvation of his hearers depends.

I am sensible, that the multitude of affairs, in which such pastors as are careful of their duty must be engaged, allow them but very little time to prepare their sermons. But we are not here treating of pieces of Eloquence, laboured and polished with the utmost care; which require long application, and consequently complete leisure. The preacher, who,

[*d*] Legatione fungimur.

* Pericles.

[*e*] Ad illam causaram operam nunquam nisi paratus & meditatus accedo. Cic. l. 1. de leg. n. 12.

[*f*] Afferet ad dicendum curæ semper quantum plurimum poterit. Neque enim solùm negligentis, sed & mali, & in susceptâ causâ perfidi, ac proditoris est, pejùs agere quàm possit. Quint. l. 12. c. 9.

Besides

beſides a natural genius, has ſome learning; and who joins to theſe qualities a ſtrong zeal for the ſalvation of Chriſtians, never fails of ſucceſs; and is ſure of applauſe, when he lays down his diſcourſe with order, delivers ſolid and pathetic things, corroborates them by texts of ſcripture, and obſerves not to make his diſcourſe too long. Such a preparation as this, (and it is indiſpenſable) does not take up a vaſt deal of time.

Is any part of the miniſterial function more important, more neceſſary, more worthy of the paſtoral zeal, than the care of the poor, and that of adminiſtring the ſacraments? [g] Nevertheleſs we ſee, on one ſide, that the apoſtles, when aſſembled to remedy the complaints, which the diſtribution of the alms had occaſioned among the faithful, think themſelves obliged to lay aſide this ſo holy duty, rather than to leave off preaching the word of God, to which they were expreſsly commanded to poſtpone every thing elſe; and on the other ſide, when St. Paul, ſo well inſtructed in the duty of an apoſtle, and ſo indefatigable in his labours, declares expreſsly, [b] *that Chriſt ſent him, not to baptize, but to preach the Goſpel.* Preaching is therefore the chief function of apoſtles, biſhops, and paſtors of every denomination; to which they ought to apply themſelves with all the vigour they are capable of, removing, with an inflexible ſeverity, whatever is incompatible with this firſt and moſt eſſential of their duties.

This precept and example has been given us by all thoſe great ſaints, whoſe learned and eloquent diſcourſes have done ſo much honour to the Chriſtian world, tho' moſt of them poſſeſſed the higheſt dignities in the church, and were vigilant in defending it againſt hereſies.

[i] St. Gregory Nazianzen, though he deſpiſed the diſpoſition of words, and thoſe empty delicacies which only pleaſe the ear, was yet very far from neglecting

[g] Act. vi. 2.
[b] 1 Cor. i. 17.
[i] Orat. 15.

what

what might be of use to elocution, [k] as he observes more than once. * I have reserved, says he, Eloquence only; and I do not repent the pains and fatigue I have suffered by sea and land, in order to attain it; I could wish, for my own and my friends sakes, that we possessed all the force of it. . . [l] This alone remains of what I once possest, and I offer, devote and consecrate it to my God. The voice of his command, and the impulse of his Spirit, have made me abandon all things beside, to barter all I was master of, for the precious stone of the Gospel. Thus then I am become, or rather I wish ardently to become that happy merchant, who exchanges contemptible and perishable goods, for others that are excellent and eternal. But being a minister of the Gospel, I devote myself solely to the art of preaching: I embrace it as my lot, and will never forsake it. . . . [m] In another place, he thanks his flock, in that their incredible ardor for the word of God was his consolation against the injurious and malicious discourses vented by his enemies against his Eloquence, which he indeed had acquired by the study of profane authors; but had raised and ennobled by the reading of the sacred writings, and by the vivifying wood of the cross, which had taken away all its bitterness. He adds, that he is not of the opinion of many others, who would have people be contented with a dry, simple, unadorned, flat discourse; who cover their laziness or ignorance with a contemptuous disdain of their adversaries, and pretend therein to imitate the apostles; not considering that miracles and prodigies were to them instead of Eloquence.

[n] St. Ambrose, in the very place where he exhorts preachers to make their discourses pure, simple, clear, weighty, and solid, adds, that as they must not be af-

[k] Orat. 3.

* St. Gregory Nazianzen had undertaken several voyages, purposely to study Eloquence under the ablest masters.

[l] Orat. 12.

[m] Orat. 27.

[n] Oratio sit pura, simplex, dilucida atque manifesta, plena gravitatis & ponderis: non affectatâ elegantiâ, sed non intermissâ gratiâ. Offic. l. 1. c. 22.

fectedly elegant, so neither must they be devoid of beauties and graces. And he himself always practised what he inculcated to others.

Was ever pastor more employed, or more devoted to good works, than St. Austin? [o] But then his zeal, no less enlightened than fervent, did not engross any part of the time requisite for preparing what was necessary for the instruction of the faithful. One would conclude, that at first his sermons were written down, and got by heart; because he then had more leisure, and more occasion to use this precaution. Afterwards, he contented himself with searching for the sense of such passages of scripture as he intended to explain; to display the truths they contained, and to find out texts to support and illustrate them; which research, and his preaching, cost him no little pains, as he himself tells us in the conclusion of his fourth discourse on the ciiid Psalm. *Magno labore quæsita & inventa sunt, magno labore núnciata & disputata sunt: sit labor noster fructuosus vobis, & benedicat anima nostra Dominum.* The insatiable ardor with which his auditors used to hear him, is a manifest proof that he was a very able preacher; was very laborious in preparing, and careful in the delivery of his sermons.

I have purposely reserved St. Chrysostom for the last, because none of the fathers have insisted more on the subject in question, than he has done. In his beautiful discourse on the priesthood, which is justly considered as his master-piece, he lays it down as an inconteſtable principle, that the chief duty of bishops, and consequently of all pastors, consists in the instruction delivered from the Pulpit: because by that alone, they are enabled to teach Christians the truths of religion, to inspire them with a love for virtue, draw them out of the paths of vice, and support them in the severe trials they must undergo, and the combats they must daily sustain against the enemies of their salvation. Without this support, a poor church may be compared to a city attacked on all sides, and with-

[o] Epist. lxxiii.

out

out defence; or to a ship driven by storms, and without a pilot. The word in the mouth of a pastor, is like a sword in the hand of a warrior; but this sword must be managed with art and dexterity; or, to speak more plainly, [p] a pastor must very assiduously prepare the sermons and other discourses he is obliged to deliver in public; and must use his utmost efforts to acquire this talent, since on it depends the salvation of most of the souls committed to his care.

But here it will be objected; if this be true, why did St. Paul neglect the acquiring this talent; and why did he not scruple to own, that [q] *he was rude in speech*, and that too in writing to the Corinthians, who set so high a value upon Eloquence?

This expression, says St. Chrysostom, the sense and depth of which has not been discovered, has deceived multitudes, and by them has been made use of as a handle to vindicate their own sloth. If St. Paul was ignorant, as you say, how came he to confound the Jews at Damascus, having not yet wrought any miracles? How was it possible for him to vanquish the Greeks in argument, and why did he not retire to Tarsus? Was it not after he had gained so complete a victory by the power of his discourse, that unable to bear the ignominy of their defeat, they resolved to put him to death? Of what did he make use in his contest with the citizens of Antioch, who were resolved to embrace the Jewish ceremonies? Did not the senator of the Areopagus, who inhabited the most superstitious, and at the same time the most learned city in the world, and his wife, follow him, after hearing but one of his discourses? How did that Apostle employ his time in Thessalonica, in Corinth, in Ephesus, and even in Rome itself? Did not he spend whole days and nights in explaining the sacred writings? Need we relate his various disputes with the Epicureans and Stoics? How audacious then must those be, who after this would give the title of ignorant to St. Paul? He, whose disputations and sermons

[p] Χρὴ τὸν ἱερέα πάντα ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτην κτήσασθαι τὴν ἰσχύν.

[q] 2 Cor. xi. 6.

were univerſally admired; he, whom the Lycaonians imagined to be Mercury, undoubtedly becauſe of his Eloquence?

It may happen, that paſtors full of zeal, charity, and at the ſame time very capable of preſiding over men, may however not be endued with a talent for preaching, nor able to inſtruct their flock. In this caſe, the example of Valerius biſhop of Hippo, who becauſe he was not converſant in the Latin tongue, made St. Auſtin preach for him, and in his preſence, is a rule for them; and authorizes them to employ others in thoſe functions to which they themſelves are unequal. [r] Such country rectors as are not capable of compoſing ſermons, may have recourſe to books. There is purpoſely calculated for them, a ſet of ſhort and eaſy homilies, adapted to the meaneſt capacities; theſe they may either read to their congregation, or get others to read for them.

St. Auſtin would not condemn this practice; [s] he being of opinion, that when a paſtor is not capable of writing a ſermon, he may get it done by another; and after learning it by heart, deliver it as though he himſelf were the author. The reaſon of which is, that ſome method or other muſt be uſed to inſtruct the people.

III. DUTY *of a* PREACHER.

To AFFECT *and* MOVE *the* PASSIONS *of his* AUDITORS *by the* STRENGTH *of his* DISCOURSE.

Though we ought to ſet a high value on a diſcourſe, which is not only very perſpicuous, but graceful and eloquent; it muſt however be owned, that the great, the ſurpriſing effects of Eloquence are not produced either from that of a ſimple or mediate, or of an em-

[r] M. P. Abbé Lambert.

[s] Sunt quidam, qui benè pronunciare poſſunt, quid autem pronuncient excogitare non poſſunt. Quòd ſi ab aliis ſumant eloquenter ſapienterque conſcriptum, memoriæque commendent, atque ad populum proferant: ſi eam perſonam gerunt, non improbè faciunt. De doctr. chr. l. 4. n. 62.

belliſhed

belliſhed or florid kind, but from the ſublime and pathetic. By the two former, the orator pleaſes and inſtructs; and he may be ſatisfied with producing theſe two effects, when he ſpeaks of ſpeculative truths, which require only our belief and conſent; and regard the underſtanding, rather than the heart and affections, if we may admit any ſuch in religion. But it is not ſo when practical truths are propoſed, which are to be put in execution. And indeed to what purpoſe would it be, ſhould the auditor be convinced of what he hears, and applaud the Eloquence of the ſpeaker, if he did not love, embrace and practiſe the maxims preached to him? In caſe the orator does not arrive at this third degree, he goes but half way; for he ought to pleaſe and inſtruct, only with the view of affecting. It is in this St. Auſtin, after Tully, makes the complete victory of Eloquence to conſiſt. Every diſcourſe that leaves the auditor calm, does not move and agitate him, and alſo deject, overthrow, and vanquiſh his obſtinate reſiſtance; how beautiful ſoever ſuch a piece may appear, it is not truly eloquent. The buſineſs is, to inſpire him with horror for his ſins, and with a dread of God's judgments; to remove the deluſive charm which blinds him, and to force open his eyes; to make him hate what he loved, and love what he hated; to root out from his heart his ſtrong, darling, ardent paſſions, of which he is no longer maſter, and which have gained an abſolute aſcendant over him; in a word, to urge, to force him from himſelf, from his deſires, his joys, and every thing that conſtitutes his felicity.

I am ſenſible that nothing but the all-powerful grace of Chriſt Jeſus can affect a heart in this manner, and create ſuch wonderful changes in it. To think otherways, and to expect in ſome meaſure this effect from the efficacy of words, the graces of ſpeech, the ſolidity of arguments, or the ſtrength of expreſſions, would be, to ſpeak with St. Paul, to [t] annihilate the croſs of Chriſt, and diveſt him of the honour of

[t] 1 Cor. i. 17.

converting the world, to aſcribe it to human wiſdom. [u] For this reaſon St. Auſtin would have the Chriſtian orator rely much more on prayer than on his abilities; and before he ſpeaks to them, would have him addreſs the Creator, who can alone inſpire him with what he ought to ſpeak, and the manner in which it is to be ſpoken. [x] But as we employ the natural remedies which phyſic preſcribes, though we are ſenſible that all their effect is owing to God, who is pleaſed to make them ſubſervient to our recovery, but without ſubjecting his power to theirs; in like manner, the Chriſtian orator may, and ought to employ all the methods, all the aſſiſtance which Rhetoric can ſupply, but without putting his confidence in it; and in full perſuaſion, that it will be to no purpoſe for him to ſpeak to the ears, if God does not ſpeak to the hearts.

Now it is the ſublime and pathetic ſtyle, great and lively images, ſtrong and vehement paſſions, which force our aſſent, and captivate the heart. [y] Inſtruction and arguments have enlightened and convinced the mind; the graces of ſpeech have won it; and, by their ſeducing charms, have prepared the way to the heart. The next thing is, to enter and take poſſeſſion of it; but this is what only the grand, the powerful Eloquence can effect. The reader may turn back to what was ſaid on this ſubject in the arti-

[u] Noſter iſte eloquens . . . hæc ſe poſſe, pietate magis orationum, quàm oratorum facultate, non dubitet, ut orando pro ſe, ac pro illis quos eſt allocuturus, ſit orator, antequam dictor. . . . Et quis facit ut quod oportet, quemadmodum oportet, & dicatur à nobis, niſi IN CUJUS MANU SUNT ET NOS ET SERMONES NOSTRI?

[x] Sicut enim corporis medicamenta, quæ hominibus ab hominibus adhibentur, non niſi eis proſunt, quibus Deus operatur ſalutem, qui & ſine illis mederi poteſt, cùm ſine ipſo illa non poſſint, & tamen adhibentur . . . ita & adjumenta doctrinæ tunc proſunt animæ adhibita per hominem, cùm Deus operatur ut proſint, qui potuit evangelium dare homini etiam non ab hominibus, neque per hominem. S. Aug. de doctr. chr. l. 4. c. 15, 16.

[y] Oportet igitur eloquentem eccleſiaſticum, quando ſuadet aliquid quod agendum eſt, non ſolùm docere ut inſtruat, & delectare ut teneat, verùm etiam flectere ut vincat. Ipſe quippe jàm remanet ad conſenſionem flectendus eloquentiæ granditate, in quò id non egit uſque ad ejus confeſſionem demonſtrata veritas, adjunctâ etiam ſuavitate dictionis. S. Aug. de doctr. chr. l. 4. c. 13.

cle

cle of the ſublime. I ſhall now give ſome extracts from the fathers, which will be more inſtructive than any reflections I can make on this ſubject.

An EXTRACT *from* ST. AUSTIN.

[z] THIS illuſtrious ſaint employed the precepts of this triumphant Eloquence on an important occaſion, which he himſelf has related. It was at Hippo, when he was but a private prieſt, and at the time that Valerius the biſhop made him preach in his ſtead. The feſtival of St. Leontius biſhop of Hippo being nigh, the people murmured at their being hindered to celebrate it with the uſual rejoicings, that is, to aſſemble in the churches at feaſts, which degenerated into drunkenneſs and debauchery. St. Auſtin, knowing that the people murmured, began on Wedneſday, the eve of the Aſcenſion, to preach to them on that ſubject, upon occaſion of the Goſpel of the day, in which theſe words were read: [a] *Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither caſt ye your pearls before ſwine.*

As there were but few auditors at this diſcourſe, and that a great many among theſe were oppoſers, he ſpoke again on the ſame ſubject on the ſucceeding day, being Aſcenſion-day, to a more numerous aſſembly, in which the Goſpel of the buyers and ſellers, who were driven out of the temple, was read. He himſelf read it over again, and ſhewed, how much more ſolicitous Chriſt would have been, to baniſh diſſolute feaſts from the temple, than a traffic innocent in itſelf. He alſo read ſeveral other paſſages of Scripture againſt drunkenneſs. He heightened his diſcourſe with groans, and the moſt lively marks of the deep ſorrow, into which his love for his brethren had plunged him; and, after interrupting it by ſome prayers which he cauſed to be repeated, he again began to ſpeak with the utmoſt vehemence; ſetting before their

[z] S. Aug. Epiſt. xxix. ad Alypium.

[a] Matth. vii. 6.

eyes the general danger to which the common people were expoſed, as well as the prieſts, who are to render an account of their ſouls to the great paſtor. "I "conjure you, ſays he, by his humiliations and "ſufferings, his crown of thorns, his croſs, and his "blood, at leaſt have pity on us, and conſider the "love and charity of the venerable Valerius, who, "out of tenderneſs for you, entruſted me with the "formidable miniſtry, to declare the word of God "unto you. He has often told you how overjoyed he "was at my coming hither; but his view in this was, "that I might be the miniſter of your ſalvation, and "not of your damnation." St. Auſtin added, that he hoped this would never come to paſs; and that in caſe they would not ſubmit to the authority of the Divine Word he had preached to them, they would yield to the chaſtiſements, which he did not doubt God would inflict upon them in this world, to prevent their being damned in the other. He ſpoke this in ſo affecting a manner, that he drew tears from his congregation, and could not refrain from weeping himſelf. "It was not, ſays he, my weeping over "them, that drew tears from their eyes; but, whilſt "I was ſpeaking, their tears prevented mine. I muſt "confeſs that I was then melted. After we had wept "together, I began to have ſtrong hopes of their "amendment."

[*b*] The day following, which was the feaſt-day, he was informed, that ſome murmured, and cried, "What's doing now? Were not thoſe, who permit-"ted this cuſtom hitherto, Chriſtians?" [*c*] St. Auſtin, not knowing how to move them, was in great perplexity. He had reſolved to read to theſe obſtinate people that paſſage in [*d*] Ezekiel, where it is ſaid, that the centinel is diſcharged when he has given warning of the danger; and afterwards to ſhake his garments over the people, and to return home. How-

[*b*] Cum illuxiſſet dies cui ſolebant fauces ventreſque ſe parare.

[*c*] Quo audito, quas majores commovendi eos machinas præparem, omnino neſciebam.

[*d*] Ezek. xxxiii. 9.

ever,

ever, God ſpared him this affliction, and the murmurers were no longer able to reſiſt ſo lively and eloquent a charity.

There is no doubt, but that the ſolidity and beauty of the diſcourſe was of ſervice in preparing the way, and affecting the minds of his hearers; but a circumſtance, which overthrew thoſe murmerers, and gained St. Auſtin a complete victory, was his blending the ſublime and pathetic, with that ſoftneſs and tenderneſs we have mentioned elſewhere. [e] The two others may procure acclamations; but the ſublime and pathetic bear down, as it were, every thing with their weight; and inſtead of applauſes, force tears from the hearers.

EXTRACT *from* ST. CYPRIAN.

THE extract I here give is borrowed from the beautiful epiſtle of this illuſtrious biſhop to pope Cornelius, upon occaſion of thoſe perſons, who, having fallen during the perſecution, demanded haughtily to be reſtored to the ſacraments, though they had not done the penance required on thoſe occaſions, and had even the boldneſs to employ menaces.

"If thoſe ſinners, ſays St. Cyprian, will be re-
"ceived into the church, let us ſee what idea they
"have of the ſatisfaction they ought to make, and
"what fruits of repentance they bring. The church
"here is not ſhut againſt any perſon; the biſhop does
"not reject any one. We are ready to receive with
"patience, indulgence, and mildneſs, all thoſe who
"preſent themſelves before us. It is my deſire that
"all return into the church: it is my deſire that all,
"who fought with us, ſhould rally under the ſtand-
"ards of Chriſt Jeſus; and return to his heavenly
"camp, and into the houſe of God his Father. I re-

[e] Non ſanè, ſi dicendo crebriùs & vehementiùs acclametur, ideo granditer putandus eſt dicere: hoc enim & acumina ſubmiſſi generis, & ornamenta faciunt temperati. Grande autem genus plerumque pondere ſuo voces premit, ſed lacrymas exprimit. S. Aug. de doctr. chr. l. 4. c. 24.

"mit

" mit as much as I poſſibly can; I wink at a great " many things, from the ardent deſire I have to reunite " our brethren to us. I do not even examine with all " the ſeverity which piety and the Chriſtian religion " require, ſuch offences as have been committed againſt " God; and I commit ſin perhaps myſelf in too eaſily " remitting the ſins of others. I embrace, with the " ardor and the tenderneſs of an entire charity, thoſe " who return with ſentiments of penitence, thoſe who " confeſs their ſins, and atone for them with humi- " lity, and ſimplicity of heart. But if ſome think to " enter again into the church by threats, and not by " prayers; and to force open the doors of it by ter- " ror, and not to gain admittance by atonement and " tears; they are to know, that the church is for ever " ſhut againſt ſuch perſons; and that the invincible " camp of Chriſt Jeſus, fortified by the almighty " power of God, who is the protector of it, is not to " be forced by human inſolence. The prieſt of the " Lord, who follows the precepts of the goſpel, may " be killed; but he cannot be overcome. *Sacerdos* " *Dei evangelium tenens, & Chriſti præcepta cuſtodiens,* " *occidi poteſt, non vinci.*"

In my opinion this extract, which diſplays both the paternal mildneſs of a holy biſhop, and the invincible courage of a martyr, may be propoſed as a perfect model of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſublime Eloquence, equal in every reſpect to that of Demoſthenes.

EXTRACTS *from* ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM *againſt* OATHS.

ST. Chryſoſtom, in his homilies to the inhabitants of Antioch, often exclaims againſt thoſe, who, for temporal intereſt, obliged their brethren to ſwear on the altar, and by that means often occaſioned their taking of falſe oaths. " [*f*] What are you do- " ing, wicked wretch, ſays he? You require an oath " on the holy table; and you ſacrifice cruelly your " brother, on the ſame altar where Jeſus Chriſt, who

[*f*] Homil. xv. ad pop. Antioch.

" ſacrificed

" ſacrificed himſelf for you, lies. Thieves aſſaſſinate, " but then they do it in ſecret; but you, in preſence " of the church, our common parent, murder one of " her children, in which you are more wicked than " Cain; for he concealed his guilt in the deſart, and " only deprived his brother of a tranſitory life; but " you plunge your neighbour into everlaſting death, " and that in the midſt of the temple, and before the " face of the Creator! Was then the Lord's houſe " built for ſwearing, and not for prayer? Is the ſacred " altar to occaſion the committing of crimes, inſtead " of expiating them? But if every other religious ſenti- " ment is extinguiſhed in you, revere, at leaſt, the holy " book, with which you preſent your brother to ſwear " upon. Open the holy Goſpel, on which you are go- " ing to make him ſwear; and, upon hearing what " Chriſt Jeſus ſays of ſwearing, tremble and withdraw. " And what does Chriſt ſay there? *It has been ſaid by* " *them of old time, Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf. . . .* " *But I ſay unto you, Swear not at all.* [g] How! you " make people ſwear on that very book which forbids " the taking of oaths? Impious procedure! horrid " ſacrilege! This is making the legiſlator, who con- " demns murder, an accomplice in the guilt of it.

" I ſhed fewer tears when I hear that a perſon has " been murdered on the highway, than when I ſee a " man go up to the altar, lay his hand on the holy " book of the Goſpels, and take his oath aloud. On " this occaſion it is impoſſible for me to keep from " changing colour, from trembling, and ſhivering, " both for him who adminiſters, and for him who " takes the oath. Miſerable wretch! to ſecure to thy- " ſelf a doubtful ſum of money, thou loſeſt thy ſoul! " Can the benefit, thou reapeſt, be put in competi- " tion with thine and thy brother's loſs? If thou " knoweſt, that he from whom thou exacteſt an oath, " is a good man, why then art thou not contented " with his word? But if he is not, why doſt thou " force him to forſwear himſelf?

[g] Matt. v. 33, 34.

" But

" But here you will anſwer, that without this your " proof would have been imperfect, and you would " not have been believed. What is that to the pur- " poſe? It is in fearing to require the oath that you " will appear worthy of belief, and be eaſy in your " mind. For, in fine, when you are got home, does " not your conſcience reproach you? Don't you ſay " to yourſelf, Was I in the right to exact an oath from " him? Is he not forſworn? Am not I the cauſe of " his committing ſo dreadful a crime? On the other " ſide, what a conſolation muſt it be, when, being re- " turned home, you can ſay to yourſelf, Bleſſed be " God, I put a reſtraint upon myſelf; I have pre- " vented my brother from committing a crime, and " poſſibly from taking a falſe oath! May all the gold, " all the riches in the univerſe periſh, rather than that " I infringe the law, to force others to violate it."

[*b*] In the foregoing homily, St. Chryſoſtom, after having related to his auditors in what manner St. John Baptiſt had been put to death, becauſe of the oath that Herod had made, exhorts them to preſerve the remembrance of ſo tragical an event, and to take warning by ſo dreadful an example; on which occaſion he employs the moſt lively and ſublime figures. " I bid " each of you yeſterday bring into his houſe the ſtill " bleeding head of St. John Baptiſt, and to image to " yourſelves his eyes animated with a holy zeal " againſt oaths, and his voice, which, ſtill raiſing itſelf " againſt that criminal cuſtom, ſeems to ſpeak thus " to you: *Fly, and deteſt ſwearing; for this coſt me my* " *life, and occaſions the greateſt crimes.* And indeed, " continues St. Chryſoſtom, what neither the gene- " rous liberty of the holy fore-runner (the Baptiſt) " nor the violent anger of the king, who ſaw himſelf " publicly reproved, could effect, was yet brought " to paſs by the ill-grounded fear of perjury; and St. " John's death was the effect and conſequence of the " oath. I again repeat the ſame thing to you: Re- " preſent to yourſelves perpetually that holy head,

[*b*] Homil. xiv.

" which

" which is for ever reproaching blaſphemers; and this " reflection alone will be as a ſalutary bridle to your " tongues, and keep them from venting blaſphemies."

EXTRACT *of* ST. CHRYSOSTOM'*s diſcourſe on* EUTROPIUS'*s diſgrace.*

EUTROPIUS was favourite to the emperor Arcadius, and had an abſolute aſcendant over his maſter. This monarch, who diſcovered as much weakneſs when his miniſters ſtood in need of his protection, as imprudence in raiſing them, was forced, in ſpite of himſelf, to abandon his favourite. Eutropius thereupon fell from the higheſt pitch of grandeur into an abyſs of miſery. The only friend he then found was St. John Chryſoſtom, whom he often had treated injuriouſly, and who yet had the pious generoſity to receive him in the ſacred aſylum of the altars, which he had endeavoured to aboliſh, by various laws he had enacted againſt them, and to which he nevertheleſs fled in his calamity. The next day, on which the holy myſteries were to be celebrated, the people ran in crouds to the church, there to behold in Eutropius a lively image of human weakneſs, and of the vanity of worldly grandeur. The holy biſhop treated this ſubject in ſo lively and moving a manner, that he changed the hatred and averſion which the people had for Eutropius, into compaſſion, and drew tears from the whole congregation. We are to obſerve, that it was uſual with St. Chryſoſtom to addreſs the great, and the powerful, even in the height of their proſperity, with a ſtrength and liberty truly epiſcopal.

" [*i*] If ever there was reaſon to cry, *Vanity of va-* " *nities, all is vanity*, it is certainly on this occaſion. " Where is now that ſplendor of the moſt exalted dig- " nities? Where are thoſe marks of honour and diſ- " tinction? What is become of that pomp of feaſting " and rejoicings? What is the iſſue of thoſe frequent

[*i*] Eccleſ. i. 2.

" acclа-

" acclamations, and extravagantly flattering encomi-
" ums, laviſhed by a whole people aſſembled in the
" Circus to ſee the public ſhews? A ſingle blaſt of
" wind has ſtripped that proud tree of all its leaves;
" and, after ſhaking its very roots, has forced it in an
" inſtant out of the earth. Where are thoſe falſe
" friends, thoſe vile flatterers, thoſe paraſites ſo aſſi-
" duous in making their court, and in diſcovering a
" ſervile attachment by their words and actions? All
" this is gone and fled away like a dream, like a flower,
" like a ſhadow. We therefore cannot too often re-
" peat theſe words of the Holy Spirit, *Vanity of vani-*
" *ties, all is vanity.* They ought to be written in the
" moſt ſhining letters, in all places of public reſort,
" on the doors of houſes, and in all their apartments;
" but much more ought they to be engraved in our
" hearts, and be the perpetual ſubject of our medi-
" tation.

" Had I not juſt reaſon, ſays St. Chryſoſtom, ad-
" dreſſing himſelf to Eutropius, to ſet before you the
" inconſtancy of riches? You now have found, by
" your own experience, that, like fugitive ſlaves, they
" have abandoned you; and are become, in ſome
" meaſure, traitors and murderers with regard to you,
" ſince they are the principal cauſe of your fall. I
" often repeated to you, that you ought to have a
" greater regard to my reproaches, how grating ſo-
" ever they might appear, than to the inſipid praiſes
" which flatterers were perpetually laviſhing on you,
" becauſe [*k*] *Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but*
" *the kiſſes of an enemy are deceitful.* Had I not juſt rea-
" ſon to addreſs you in this manner? What is become
" of the croud of courtiers? They have turned their
" backs; they have renounced your friendſhip; and
" are ſolely intent upon their own intereſt and ſecurity,
" even at the expence of yours. We ſubmitted to
" your violence in the meridian of your fortune, and,
" now you are fallen, we ſupport you to the utmoſt of
" our power. The church, againſt which you have

[*k*] Prov. xxvii. 6.

" warred,

" warred, opens its boſom to receive you; and the " theatres, the eternal object of your favour, which " had ſo often drawn down your indignation upon us, " have abandoned and betrayed you.

" I do not ſpeak this to inſult the misfortunes of " him who is fallen, nor to open and make wounds " ſmart that are ſtill bleeding; but in order to ſupport " thoſe who are ſtanding, and teach them to avoid the " like evils. And the only way to avoid theſe, is, to " be fully perſuaded of the frailty and vanity of world- " ly grandeur. To call it a flower, a blade of graſs, " a ſmoke, a dream, is not ſaying enough, ſince it is " even below nothing. Of this we have a very ſen- " ſible proof before our eyes. What man ever roſe " to ſuch an heighth of grandeur? Was he not im- " menſely rich? Did he not poſſeſs every dignity? " Did not the whole empire ſtand in fear of him? And " now, more deſerted, and trembling ſtill more than " the meaneſt wretch, than the vileſt ſlave, than the " priſoners confined in dungeons; having perpetually " before his eyes ſwords unſheathed to deſtroy him; " torments and executioners; deprived of day-light " at noon-day, and expecting every moment that " death which perpetually ſtares him in the face.

" You were witneſſes yeſterday, when people came " from the palace in order to drag him hence, how he " ran to the holy altars, ſhivering in every limb; pale " and dejected, ſcarce uttering a word but what was " interrupted by ſobs and groans, and rather dead than " alive. I again repeat, I do not declaim in this " manner in order to inſult his fall, but to move and " affect you by the deſcription of his calamities, and " inſpire you with tenderneſs and compaſſion for one " ſo wretched.

" But ſome hard-hearted, mercileſs perſons, who " are even offended at us becauſe we ſuffered him to " take ſanctuary in the church, ſay, Was not that very " man its moſt inveterate enemy, who made laws for " ſhutting up that ſacred aſylum? It is ſo indeed, an- " ſwers Chryſoſtom; but we ought to glorify God the

" more,

" more, in thus obliging ſo formidable an enemy of " it to come and pay homage both to the power of " the church, and to its clemency. To its power, " ſince his perſecution of it cauſed his fall; to its cle- " mency, ſince, notwithſtanding all his injurious treat- " ment, forgetting what is paſt, he is ſhrouded by its " wings; is covered by its protection, as though it " were a ſhield; and is received into the holy ſanctu- " ary of thoſe altars, which he himſelf had often at- " tempted to deſtroy. No victories or trophies could " reflect ſo much honour on the church. So generous " an action, of which only the church is capable, co- " vers the Jews and infidels with ſhame. To afford " protection publicly to a ſworn enemy, fallen into " diſgrace, abandoned, and become univerſally the " object of contempt and abhorrence; to diſcover " more than a maternal tenderneſs for him; to oppoſe " at one and the ſame time the anger of the emperor, " and the blind fury of the people; in this conſiſts the " glory of our holy religion.

" You declare with indignation, that he made laws " for ſhutting up this ſacred aſylum. But, O man! " whoſoever thou art, art thou then allowed to remem- " ber the injuries that have been done thee? Are we " not the ſervants of a crucified God, who ſaid, as he " was breathing his laſt, [*l*] *Father, forgive them, for* " *they know not what they do?* And that man, now " proſtrate before the altar, and expoſed to the ſight " of the whole world, does not he appear in perſon to " annul his own laws, and acknowledge that they were " unjuſt? What a glory does this reflect on this altar, " and how awful, how dreadful is it become, ſince it " keeps that lion in chains before our eyes! Thus, " what exalts the ſplendor of a monarch, is not his be- " ing cloathed in purple, and ſitting on his throne, " but his treading under foot vanquiſhed and captive " barbarians. . . .

" I ſee that our temple is as much crouded as at the " ſolemn feaſt of Eaſter. What a leſſon does the ſight

[*l*] Luke xxiii. 32.

" you

" you now behold, afford; and how much more elo-
" quent is the silence of this man, reduced to so mi-
" serable a condition, than all our discourses! The rich
" man needs but enter in here, to see the following
" words of Scripture verified: [m] *All flesh is grass, and*
" *all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field. The*
" *grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the spirit of*
" *the Lord bloweth upon it.* And the poor man is
" taught, on this occasion, to form a quite different
" judgment of his condition, than he generally does;
" to be even pleased with his poverty, which is to him
" a sanctuary, a haven, a citadel; by affording him
" security, and preserving him from those fears and
" alarms, which he sees are caused by riches."

St. Chrysostom's design in this discourse, was not only to instruct his hearers, but to move them to compassion, by the lively description he gave of Eutropius's misfortunes. And indeed he had the consolation, as was before observed, to draw tears from the whole congregation, notwithstanding their great aversion to Eutropius, who was justly considered as the author of all their calamities, both public and private. When St. Chrysostom perceived this, he proceeded in this manner: " Have I calmed your resentments? Have I
" softened your anger? Have I extinguished inhu-
" manity in your minds? Have I raised your compas-
" sion? Yes, I certainly must have effected all this;
" for the frame of mind I now behold you in, and the
" tears which trickle down your cheeks, are a certain
" proof of it. Since then your hearts are become
" more tender, and the glow of charity has melted
" their ice, and softened their rigour; let us go toge-
" ther, and throw ourselves at the emperor's feet; or
" rather, let us beseech the God of mercy to soften
" his heart, and incline him to pardon Eutropius."

This discourse had the desired effect, and St. Chrysostom saved the life of that unhappy man. But some days after, Eutropius having been so imprudent as to leave the church, in order to make his escape, he was

[m] Isa. xl. 6, 7.

taken, and baniſhed to Cyprus, where he was afterwards ſeized and carried to Chalcedon, and there beheaded.

EXTRACT *from the* FIRST BOOK *of the* PRIESTHOOD.

ST. Chryſoſtom had an intimate friend, Baſilius by name, who had perſuaded our ſaint to leave his mother's houſe, and lead a recluſe and ſolitary life with him. As ſoon as my afflicted mother, ſays St. Chryſoſtom, heard of this, ſhe took me by the hand, carried me into her chamber, and ſetting me down by her on the bed where ſhe was delivered of me, ſhe began to weep, and ſpake to me in ſuch tender words, as affected me much more than her tears. "Son, ſays ſhe, God would not ſuffer me to "enjoy long your father's virtue. By his death, "which happened ſoon after the pangs I had ſuffered "in bringing you into the world, you became an or-"phan, and I a widow, ſooner than was for either of "our advantages. I have ſuffered all the troubles "and afflictions of widowhood, which cannot be "conceived by any, but thoſe who have gone "through them. No words can expreſs the ſtorms to "which a young woman is expoſed, who is but juſt "come from her father's houſe, is wholly unacquainted "with affairs; and who, being overwhelmed with "grief, is obliged to devote herſelf to new cares, too "weighty for her age and ſex. She muſt make up the "negligence of her ſervants, and guard againſt their "malice; muſt defend herſelf from the evil deſigns "of her neighbours; muſt ſuffer perpetually the in-"jurious treatment of the farmers of the revenues, "and the inſolence and barbarity they exerciſe in le-"vying the taxes.

"When a father leaves children behind him, if it "be a daughter, I am ſenſible the care of her muſt be "very heavy upon the widow her mother; however, "this care is ſupportable, ſince it is not attended "either with fear or expence. But, if it be a ſon,

"the

" the educating of him will be much more difficult;
" this fills her with perpetual apprehenſions, not to
" mention how expenſive it is to get him well edu-
" cated. However, theſe ſeveral evils could never
" prevail upon me to marry. I have continued fixed
" and immoveable, amidſt theſe ſtorms and tempeſts;
" and, truſting above all in the grace of God, I deter-
" mined to ſuffer all thoſe troubles which are inſepa-
" rable from widowhood.

" But my only conſolation in theſe afflictions was to
" behold you perpetually, and to contemplate in your
" face, the living, the faithful image of my deceaſed
" huſband: a conſolation which I received in your in-
" fancy, and when you was yet incapable of ſpeaking,
" at which ſeaſon parents find the greateſt pleaſure in
" their children.

" I have not given you reaſon to ſay, that I indeed
" ſupported my preſent condition with courage, but
" that I leſſened your father's poſſeſſions to extricate
" myſelf from thoſe difficulties; a misfortune that of-
" ten befals minors. For I have preſerved for you all
" he left you, though I did not ſpare any expence for
" your education; this I paid myſelf out of the por-
" tion given me by my father. I don't ſay this, my
" ſon, by way of reproaching you with the obligations
" you owe me. The only favour I aſk in return,
" is, that you would not reduce me to widowhood a
" ſecond time. Don't open a wound that was begin-
" ning to heal; at leaſt ſtay till I am dead, and per-
" haps I may be ſo very ſoon. Thoſe who are young
" may hope to grow old; but at my age I am to ex-
" pect nothing but death. After you have buried me
" in the ſame grave with your father, and joined my
" bones to his aſhes, then undertake as long journies,
" and ſail on whatever ſea you pleaſe; for no one will
" hinder you: but ſo long as the breath is in my body,
" bear with my preſence, and don't be tired with liv-
" ing with me. Don't draw down upon yourſelf the
" wrath of heaven, as you will do, ſhould you ſo
" ſenſibly afflict a mother, who deſerves the beſt from

" you. Should I offer to engage you in worldly con-
" cerns, and you to undertake the management of my
" affairs which are your own; I then will allow you
" to have no regard or conſideration for the laws of
" nature; the pains I have taken in bringing you up;
" the reſpect which is due unto a mother, or any ſuch
" motive; but ſhun me as the enemy of your re-
" poſe, and as one who is laying ſnares to ruin you.
" But in caſe I do all that lies in my power, to make
" your life eaſy and happy, let this conſideration at
" leaſt prevail upon you, if all others ſhould fail. How
" many friends ſoever you may have, none of them
" will allow you to live with ſo much liberty as I do;
" and indeed, no one ſo paſſionately wiſhes your ad-
" vancement and felicity."

St. Chryſoſtom was unable to reſiſt theſe tender expreſſions, and though his friend Baſilius continued his ſolicitations, he could not be prevailed upon to leave a mother ſo very indulgent, and ſo highly worthy of his love.

Do we meet with any thing among heathen authors, more beautiful, more lively, more tender, or more eloquent, than the diſcourſe before us; but of that ſimple and natural Eloquence, which infinitely excels the moſt ſhining ſtrokes of elaborate art? Is there one far-fetched thought in it, or any uncommon or affected turn? Is not the whole dictated by nature itſelf? But the circumſtance I admire the moſt in it is, the inexpreſſible reſervedneſs of a deeply afflicted mother, who, tho' exceſſively afflicted, does not however vent one paſſionate expreſſion, or complain of him who was the cauſe of her violent uneaſineſs, I mean Baſilius. But undoubtedly his virtue checked her reſentments on this occaſion, or her fear that ſuch words would exaſperate her ſon, whom ſhe deſired to work upon by ſoft and gentle methods.

PART

PART THE SECOND.

The LEARNING *requisite in a* CHRISTIAN ORATOR.

WHAT I have hitherto delivered, relates only to the style and method proper for the Christian orator, and which St. Austin calls *eloquenter dicere.* It remains for me to treat that which forms the knowledge indispensably necessary to a preacher, which the above-mentioned saint calls, *sapienter dicere.*

Without this learning, [*n*] a preacher, how eloquent soever he might appear, would be but a mere declaimer; and so much the more dangerous to his hearers, as the more agreeable to them; and as, by dazzling them with this false splendor, he might accustom them to mistake an empty sound of words for truth, which is the only solid food of the mind. It is well known, says St. Austin, how greatly the heathens themselves, who were not enlightened by Divine Wisdom, but guided only by reason and good sense, despised this false species of Eloquence. What are we therefore to think of it, we who are the children, and the ministers of this very Wisdom?

It is but too usual with many who prepare for preaching, to be more studious about embellishing their discourses, than of filling them with solid truths. Nevertheless, it is a maxim in Rhetoric, established by all who have written on that art, that the only way to speak well, is to think justly; and to be able to do that, a person must be well instructed, be a master of his subject; and his mind must be adorned with a variety of knowledge.

[*o*] *Scribendi rectè sapere est & principium & fons.*

It was from philosophy, and especially in that of Plato, the ancients imagined that fund of knowledge

[*n*] Qui affluit insipienti eloquentiâ, tanto magis cavendus est, quanto magis ab eo in iis quæ audire inutile est, delectatur auditor, & eum, quoniam diserte dicere audit, etiam verè dicere existimat. Aug. lib. iv. de doctr. christ. c. 5.

[*o*] Horat. de art. poet.

might be imbibed, which only can form the good orator.

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt oſtendere chartæ.

This made Cicero ſo carefully enjoin this ſtudy; and he confeſſes [*p*], as was obſerved elſewhere, that if he has made any advances in Eloquence, he owes it more to philoſophy than to Rhetoric.

But Chriſtian orators have infinitely more pure and more abundant ſources, whence they ought to draw this fund of knowledge. Theſe ſprings are the Scripture and the fathers. What riches do they contain? And how culpable would that perſon be, who ſhould neglect ſo precious a treaſure? That man, who is much converſant in them, will eaſily be maſter of elocution. The juſt thoughts and great truths with which his mind may there be ſtored, will naturally ſuggeſt proper expreſſions; and ſuch an orator can never want words:

Verbaque proviſam rem non invita ſequentur.

Of the STUDY *of the* SCRIPTURES.

A preacher ought to make the Sacred Writings his chief ſtudy: and St. Auſtin lays it down as an inconteſtable principle, that the Chriſtian orator will be more or leſs able to deliver himſelf with juſtneſs and ſolidity, in proportion to his knowledge of the Scriptures: [*q*] *Sapienter dicit homo tanto magis vel minùs, quanto in ſcripturis ſanctis magis minuſve profecit.*

All the religion, and all the knowledge of man, for this life and for that which is to come, conſiſts in knowing the only true God, and Chriſt whom he has ſent: [*r*] *Hæc eſt vita æterna, ut cognoſcant te ſolum Deum verum, & quem miſiſti Jeſum Chriſtum.* What can be wanting in that man who poſſeſſes this double know-

[*p*] Fateor me oratorem, ſi modo ſim, aut etiam quicumque ſim, non ex rhetorum officinis, ſed ex Academiæ ſpatiis extitiſſe. Orat. n. 12.

[*q*] De doctr. chriſt. l. iv. c. 5.

[*r*] Joan. xvii. 3.

ledge?

ledge? And where can it be taken but from the Sacred Writings? [s] *Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counſellor? O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdom and knowledge of God!* Who can boaſt, [t] *that he has all the riches of the full aſſurance of underſtanding, to the acknowledgment of the myſtery of God the Father, and of Jeſus Chriſt?* Thoſe only [u] *to whom God will make known what are the riches, of the glory of this* double *myſtery*; that is, the evangeliſts and apoſtles, who can ſay, [x] *We have received . . . the Spirit of God; we know the mind of Chriſt.* It is known, that this gift was indulged to St. Paul in an eminent degree, who declared, [y] *I determined not to know any thing among you, ſave Jeſus-Chriſt, and him crucified*; all other things, [z] *he counted but loſs*, in compariſon *of the excellency of the knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus.* [a] He declares in more places than one, that his vocation is, [b] *to preach among the Gentiles the unſearchable riches of Chriſt; and to make all men ſee, what is the fellowſhip of the myſtery, which, from the beginning of the world, hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jeſus Chriſt.*

What is a preacher of the Goſpel properly, but an embaſſador ſent by the Creator to men, to declare his deſigns to them, to lay before them the conditions of the covenant he will make with them; and of the peace he will condeſcend to grant them, agreeable to that majeſtic expreſſion of St. Paul, [c] *We are embaſſadors for Chriſt?* Now, from whom ſhould an embaſſador receive his inſtructions, or the words he is commanded to deliver to thoſe he is to treat with, but from the maſter who ſent him? It was this made St. Paul exhort the Epheſians to offer up prayers continually for him; in order, ſays he, [d] *that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the myſtery of the Goſpel, . . . that therein*

[s] Rom. xi. 33, 34.
[t] Coloſſ. ii. 2.
[u] Ibid. i. 27.
[x] 1 Cor. ii. 12, 16.
[y] Ibid. ii. 2.
[z] Phil. iii. 8.
[a] Coloſſ. iv. 3, 4.
[b] Epheſ. iii. 8, 9.
[c] 2 Cor. v. 20.
[d] Eph. vi. 19, 20.

I may ſpeak boldly. And the ſame Apoſtle declares in another place, *that all things are of God, who hath reconciled us unto himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt,* [*e*] *and hath given to us the miniſtry of reconciliation.*

When can preachers ſay truly to their hearers, [*f*] *Now then we are embaſſadors for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us...* [*g*] *We ſpeak before God in Chriſt,* or rather, [*h*] *it is Jeſus Chriſt ſpeaks in us,* unleſs when the truths they declare, and the proofs by which they ſupport them, are drawn from the Sacred Writings, and are warranted from God's word? Theſe are likewiſe infinitely fruitful, whether we deſire to inculcate tenets, or to explain myſteries; or would unfold the principles of morality, or cenſure vices. [*i*] *All Scripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for inſtruction in righteouſneſs.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that the truths, which are declared to Chriſtians, are much ſtronger, and make a much greater impreſſion, when they are thus inveſted with the divine authority; becauſe every man, at the ſame time that he has an idea of the Deity, has naturally a veneration for him. Beſides, theſe truths take much deeper root in the mind, when they are joined with ſome paſſages of Scripture, the ſenſe and energy of which have been ſhewn. The hearer may have the text explained, before his eyes, which makes him much more attentive; at leaſt he has it at home, and, by reading it, he eaſily recalls whatever was ſaid to explain it. But a bare citation, often very ſhort, and of which the auditor has ſeldom notice, paſſes away with great rapidity, leaves no trace behind it, and is loſt and confounded in the reſt of the diſcourſe. We cannot expect much fruit from inſtructions, when they are founded merely on human reaſons.

[*e*] 2 Cor. v. 15.
[*f*] Ibid. v. 20.
[*g*] Ibid. xii. 19.
[*h*] Ibid. xiii. 3.
[*i*] 2 Tim. iii. 16.

"One

" One might follow, says the archbishop of Cam-
" bray, in his Dialogues on Eloquence, where he lays
" down excellent rules for preaching; one might
" follow many preachers twenty years, and not be
" instructed in religion in the manner we ought. I
" have often observed, says he elsewhere, that there
" is no art or science but is taught from principles,
" and methodically; whilst religion only is not taught
" after that method. A little dry catechism, which
" they do not understand, is given them in their in-
" fant years to learn by heart; after which, they have
" no other instructions but what they can gather from
" loose, indigested sermons. I wish that Christians
" were taught the first elements of their religion, and
" were instructed with order and method to the high-
" est mysteries. This was the practice of the earlier
" ages of the church. Ministers used to begin with
" catechisms, after which they taught the Gospel re-
" gularly by homilies, whereby Christians became
" perfectly acquainted with the whole word of God."

In this manner pastors taught antiently their flocks; and the chief preparation they judged necessary for this important duty, which they looked upon with great terror, was the study of the Sacred Writings. I shall content myself with citing here, the testimony and example of St. Austin. Valerius his bishop had ordained him priest, almost in spite of himself, in the view chiefly of making him exercise the ministry of preaching; and indeed he a little after obliged him to it. Who can express the fears, the inquietudes and alarms, with which St. Austin was seized at the sight of this function? And yet many look upon it as a sport, though this great man trembled at it. But what was wanting in him, either with regard to genius, or the knowledge necessary in a preacher? And this his bishop represented to him. [k] He himself owns, that he was well enough acquainted with all those things which relate to religion; but then he imagined, that he was not sufficiently able to distribute those

[k] Epist. xxi. ad Valer.

truths

truths to others, ſo as to conduce to their ſalvation; and this made him requeſt ſo earneſtly, that ſome time at leaſt might be allowed him, in order to prepare himſelf for it, by the ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures, by prayer, and by tears. "But if, ſays he, in his "beautiful petition to his biſhop, after having learn-"ed from experience the qualifications required in a "man who is entruſted with the diſpenſation of the "ſacraments, and of the word of God, you will not "allow me time to acquire what I am ſenſible is want-"ing in myſelf, you would then have me periſh. "Valerius, my dear father, where is your love and "charity? . . . For what anſwer ſhall I be able to "make to the Lord, when he will judge me? Shall "I tell him, that, after I had once accepted of eccle-"ſiaſtical employments, it was not poſſible for me to "inform myſelf in thoſe things which were neceſſary "to enable me to diſcharge them as I ought?"

All that St. Auſtin thought on this ſubject, the ſeveral fathers of the church, who were charged with the miniſtry of preaching, have thought and practiſed in the ſame manner: St. Baſil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chryſoſtom, did thus, and pointed out the ſame courſe to their ſucceſſors. This ſtudy therefore is neceſſary to all, and may be of vaſt uſe. There are a great number of clergymen, who, tho' of ſmall abilities in other reſpects, are appointed however to inſtruct children, the common people or peaſants, whom the bare ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures, and eſpecially of the New Teſtament, will enable to acquit ſucceſsfully of their duty; and in whom this ſtudy, if carefully followed, will ſupply what they may want with regard to learning and Eloquence. [*l*] St. Auſtin adviſes, that the poorer they find themſelves, the more they ought to borrow the riches of the Scriptures; that they ſhould take from theſe an authority they could never have had for themſelves, by enforcing

[*l*] Quanto ſe pauperiorem cernit in ſuis, tanto cum oportet in illis eſſe ditiorem: ut quod dixerit ſuis verbis, probet ex illis; & qui proprius verbis minor erat, magnorum teſtimonio quodammodo creſcat. De doctr. chr. l. 4. c. 5.

their

their own words with their teſtimony; and that they ſhould find in their greatneſs and ſtrength, the means to grow in ſtrength of mind, and to fortify themſelves by thoſe divine aids.

The STUDY *of the* FATHERS.

But, in order to diſcharge the more worthily ſo ſublime and important a miniſtry, we muſt join to the ſtudy of Sacred Writings, that of the doctors of the church, who are the true interpreters of it, and whom Chriſt, the ſole ſovereign of men, condeſcended to aſſociate in that honourable quality, by enlightening them particularly with his word.

The Eloquence of the Pulpit has an advantage over that of the bar, which is not ſufficiently valued, nor, in my opinion, ſufficiently practiſed. In the latter, the orator draws almoſt every thing he is to ſay, from his own underſtanding. He may make uſe of ſome thoughts, and ſome turns, borrowed from the ancients, but then he is not allowed to copy them; and though he were allowed this, his ſubject would ſeldom admit of it. But it is otherwiſe with a preacher; for, what ſubject ſoever he may treat, a ſpacious field is open to him in the Greek and Latin fathers, where he is ſure to find all the moſt juſt and ſolid particulars which can be ſaid on the ſame head; not only principles and their conſequences; truths, and the proofs of them; the rules, and their application; but even very often the thoughts and turns; inſomuch that an orator of no great abilities is on a ſudden enriched by the wealth of others, which becomes in ſome meaſure his own by the uſe he makes of it. And ſo far from its being a crime in him to adorn himſelf thus with theſe precious ſpoils; he ought, on the contrary, to be cenſured, in caſe he preſumed to prefer his own thoughts to thoſe of ſuch great men, who, by a peculiar privilege, were deſtined to inſtruct all ages and nations after their death.

I do not pretend, in ſpeaking thus, to confine the labour of preachers to extracting the moſt beautiful paſ-

ſages

ſages from the fathers, and delivering them ſo detached to their hearers. However, though they ſhould do this, their flock would not be thereby leſs inſtructed; nor would their caſe be very hard, ſhould they ſtill have St. Ambroſe, St. Auſtin, and St. Chryſoſtom, for their paſtors. I have heard a clergyman in Paris, who was very much followed and admired, though moſt of his ſermons were borrowed from Mr. Tourneux and Mr. Nicole. And indeed, what need the people care whence what they hear is borrowed, provided it be excellent, and well adapted to their inſtruction? But a preacher is allowed to lend, or rather to join his Eloquence to that of thoſe great men, by borrowing from them the ſubſtance of his proofs and arguments; and expreſſing them after his manner, without following them ſervilely. If he undertakes for inſtance, to ſhew why God permits juſt men to be afflicted in this life, St. Chryſoſtom, in his firſt homily to the people of Antioch, ſupplies him with ten or twelve different reaſons, all ſupported by texts of Scripture; and adds a great number in other diſcourſes. St. Auſtin has alſo ſome wonderful paſſages on this ſubject, which he treated often, becauſe this inſtruction and conſolation have in all ages been neceſſary to the good and juſt. Can a preacher of genius and elocution, finding himſelf in the midſt of theſe immenſe riches, of which he is allowed to take whatever he pleaſes, fail of delivering himſelf in a great, noble, majeſtic, and at the ſame time ſolid and inſtructive manner? A perſon, who is a little converſant with the fathers, immediately diſcovers whether a diſcourſe flows from thoſe ſources; whether the proofs and principles were taken from thence; and though the preacher be ever ſo eloquent or ſolid in other reſpects, yet if he is deficient in this part, he wants ſomething very eſſential.

I again repeat, that this advantage is of ineſtimable value, and does not require infinite pains or time. Some years of retirement would ſuffice for this ſtudy, how extenſive ſoever it may appear: and that man, who

who ſhould have made himſelf maſter only of the homilies of St. John Chryſoſtom, and St. Auſtin's ſermons on the Old and New Teſtament, with ſome other little treatiſes of the latter, would find in them all that is neceſſary to form an excellent preacher. Theſe two great maſters would alone ſuffice to teach him in what manner he is to inſtruct his flock, by teaching them religion thoroughly and from principles, and by clearly explaining to them its tenets and morality; but above all, by making them perfectly acquainted with Chriſt, his doctrine, actions, ſufferings, myſteries, and annexing theſe ſeveral inſtructions to the text of Scripture itſelf, the explication of which is equally adapted to the capacities, and the taſte, both of the learned and unlearned; and fixes truth in the mind, in a more eaſy and agreeable manner.

One cannot inculcate too much to young men, after St. Auſtin's example, the neceſſity they will be under, in caſe God ſhould one day call them to the eccleſiaſtical miniſtry, of going through a courſe of ſolid ſtudies, of making the Scriptures familiar to themſelves, and of taking the holy fathers for their guides and maſters before they undertake to teach others.

SECT. V.

Of the ELOQUENCE *of the* SACRED WRITINGS.

WHEN I propoſe to make ſome reflections here on the Eloquence of the Scriptures, I am far from being willing to confound them with thoſe upon profane authors, by making youth remark only ſuch things as pleaſe the ear, delight the imagination, and form the taſte. The deſign of God, in ſpeaking to mankind by the Scriptures, was not undoubtedly to foment their pride and curioſity, or to make them orators and learned men, but to amend their hearts. His intention in thoſe ſacred books, is not to pleaſe the imagination, or to teach us to move

that

that of others, but to purify and convert us, and to recal us from abroad, whither our ſenſes lead us, to our heart, where his grace enlightens and inſtructs us.

It is certain that the Divine Wiſdom has every kind of bleſſing in her train, and that all the qualities which the world reſpect, and can only receive from her, are at her diſpoſal. And how would it be poſſible for her not to be eloquent, ſhe who [*m*] opens the mouth of the dumb, and makes little children eloquent? [*n*] *Who hath made man's mouth?* ſays he, ſpeaking to Moſes, who thought himſelf not poſſeſſed of a good utterance, *Who maketh the dumb, or deaf, or the ſeeing, or the blind; have not I the Lord?*

But the Divine Wiſdom, in order to make itſelf more acceſſible and more eligible, has condeſcended to ſtoop to our language, to aſſume our tone of voice, and to ſtammer, as it were, with children. Hence it is, that the chief and almoſt univerſal characteriſtic of the Scriptures, is ſimplicity.

This is ſtill more apparent in the New Teſtament, and St. Paul diſcovers to us a very ſublime reaſon of it. The Creator's deſign, at firſt, was to win over men to the knowledge of himſelf, by the uſe of their reaſon, and by contemplation on the wiſdom of his works. In this firſt plan, and manner of teaching, every thing was great and magnificent, every thing anſwered to the majeſty of the God who ſpake, and the greatneſs of him who was inſtructed. But ſin has deſtroyed that order, and occaſioned a quite oppoſite method to be uſed. [*o*] *For after that, in the wiſdom of God, the world by wiſdom knew not God, it pleaſed God, by the fooliſhneſs of preaching, to ſave them that believe.* Now part of this folly conſiſts in the ſimplicity of the evangelical word and doctrine. God was determined to diſcredit the vanity of Eloquence, of knowledge, and the wiſdom of philoſophers; and to bring into contempt the pomp of human pride, in dictating the books of

[*m*] Wiſd. x. 2. [*n*] Exod. iv. 10, 11. [*o*] 1 Cor. i. 21.

Scripture,

Scripture, by which only mankind are to be converted, in a ſtyle quite different from that of the heathen writers. Theſe ſeem ſtudious only of heightening their diſcourſes by ornaments, whereas the ſacred penmen never endeavour to diſplay wit in their writings, that they may bereave Chriſt's croſs of the honour of converting the world, by giving it either to the charms of Eloquence, or to the force of human reaſon.

If therefore, notwithſtanding the ſimplicity, which is the true characteriſtic of the Scriptures, we meet with ſuch beautiful, ſuch ſublime paſſages in them; it is very remarkable, that this beauty, this ſublimity, does not ariſe from a far-fetched, laboured elocution, but from the things, which are ſo great, ſo lofty in themſelves, that they muſt neceſſarily appear magnificent when clothed in words.

Add to this, the Divine Wiſdom has employed the ſame method in ſpeaking to men, as it did in the incarnation, by which it wrought their ſalvation. It was indeed veiled and darkened by the diſagreeable outſide of infamy, ſilence, poverty, contradictions, humiliations, and ſufferings: but then it always ſuffered rays of majeſty and power to eſcape through thoſe veils, which clearly diſcover the divinity. This double character of ſimplicity and majeſty is conſpicuous alſo in every part of the Sacred Writings: and when we ſeriouſly examine, what this Wiſdom ſuffered for our ſalvation, and cauſed to be wrote for our inſtruction, we diſcover equally in both, the eternal Word, by whom all things were made, *In principio erat verbum*; this is the ſource of its grandeur; but its aſſuming the fleſh for our ſakes, *& verbum caro factum eſt*; this is the cauſe of its weakneſs.

It was neceſſary to uſe theſe precautions, and to lay down theſe principles, before I undertook to point out in the Scriptures, ſuch particulars as relate to Eloquence. For otherwiſe, by ſetting too high a value on theſe kind of beauties, we ſhould expoſe young people to the danger of having leſs veneration for thoſe paſſages of Scripture where it is more acceſſible

to

to *little ones*, although it be as divine in thoſe places as in any other, and often conceals more profound things; or we ſhould expoſe them to another danger, equally to be avoided, which is, to neglect thoſe very things which wiſdom ſays to us, and to attend only to the manner in which ſhe ſays them; and by that means to ſet a leſs value on the ſalutary counſel ſhe gives us, than on the ſtrokes of Eloquence which fall from her. Now, it is injurious to her, to admire only her train, and not look upon herſelf; or to be more touched with the gifts ſhe often beſtows on her enemies, than with the graces which ſhe reſerves for her children and diſciples.

I ſhall run over different matters, but not in a very exact order. I have obſerved elſewhere, that moſt of the reflections the reader will find here on the Scriptures, are not mine; which indeed their beauty of ſtyle will ſhew.

I. SIMPLICITY *of the* MYSTERIOUS WRITINGS.

* *They crucified him there.*

The more we reflect on the inimitable character of the evangeliſts, the more we diſcover that they were not directed by the ſpirit of man. Theſe barely ſay in few words, that their maſter was crucified, without diſcovering the leaſt ſurpriſe, compaſſion, or gratitude. Who would have ſpoke in this manner of a friend, that had laid down his life for him? What ſon would have related in ſo ſhort, ſo unaffected a manner, how his father had ſaved him from death, by ſuffering in his ſtead? But it is in this that the finger of God appears conſpicuous; and the leſs man appears in a conduct ſo little human, the more evident is the operation of God.

[*p*] The prophets deſcribe Chriſt's ſufferings in a lively, affecting, and pathetic manner, and abound with ſentiments and reflections; but the evangeliſts

* Luke xxii. 33. Iſai. l. & liii. Jer. xviii, &c.
[*p*] David, Pſ. x, xi, & lxviii.

relate

relate them with ſimplicity, without emotion, or reflections; without breaking out into admiration or teſtimonies of gratitude; or diſcovering the leaſt deſign to make their readers the diſciples of Chriſt. It was not natural, that perſons who lived ſo many years before Chriſt, ſhould be ſo touched with his ſufferings; nor that men who were eye-witneſſes of his croſs, and ſo zealous for his glory, ſhould ſpeak with ſo much calmneſs of the unheard-of crime that was perpetrated againſt him. The ſtrong zeal and affection of the apoſtles might have been ſuſpected, which that of the prophets could not be. But had not the evangeliſts and the prophets been inſpired, the former would have writ with greater force and fire, and the latter with more coldneſs and indifference; the one would have ſhewn a deſire to perſuade, and the other ſuch a timidity and heſitation in their conjectures as would not have affected any one. All the prophets are ardent, zealous, full of reſpect and veneration for the myſteries they publiſh; but as for the evangeliſts, they are calm, and have an inimitable moderation, though their zeal is as ſtrong as that of the prophets. What man but ſees the hand which guided both the one and the other? And what more ſenſible proof can we have of the divinity of the Scriptures, than their not reſembling, in any particular, ſuch things as are written by men? But at the ſame time, how much ſhould ſuch an example, and there are multitudes of the ſame kind, teach us to receive the auguſt ſimplicity of the ſacred books, which frequently conceal the moſt ſublime truths and the moſt profound myſteries?

[q] It is much in the ſame manner, the Scripture relates, that Iſaac was laid, by Abraham, on the wood which was to be his funeral pile, and was bound before he was ſacrificed, without telling us one word either of the ſentiments of the ſon, or of his father's diſcourſe to him; or preparing us for ſuch a ſacrifice by any reflections, or telling us in what manner the fa-

[q] Gen. xxii.

ther and ſon ſubmitted to it. Joſephus the hiſtorian puts a pretty long, but very beautiful and moving diſcourſe into Abraham's mouth; but Moſes deſcribes him as ſilent, and is himſelf ſilent on that occaſion. The reaſon of this is, the former wrote as a man, and as his genius prompted him; whereas the other was the pen and inſtrument of the Spirit of God, who dictated all his words.

II. SIMPLICITY *and* GRANDEUR.

[*r*] *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* What man who was to have treated of ſuch exalted matters, would have begun as Moſes did? How majeſtic, and at the ſame time how ſimple is this? Do we not perceive, that it is God himſelf who informs us of a wonder which does not aſtoniſh him, and to which he is ſuperior? A common man would have endeavoured to ſuit the magnificence of his expreſſions to the grandeur of his ſubject, and would have diſcovered only his weakneſs; but eternal Wiſdom, who made the world in [*s*] ſport, relates it without emotion.

The prophets, whoſe aim was to make us admire the wonders of the creation, ſpeak of it in a very different manner.

[*t*] *The Lord is King, and hath put on glorious apparel; the Lord hath put on his apparel, and girded himſelf with ſtrength.*

The holy king, tranſported in ſpirit at the firſt origin of the world, deſcribes in the moſt pompous expreſſions, in what manner God, who hitherto had remained unknown, inviſible, and hid in the impenetrable ſecret of his being, manifeſted himſelf on a ſudden, by a crowd of incomprehenſible wonders.

The Lord, ſays he, at laſt comes forth from his ſolitude. He will not be alone happy, juſt, holy; but will reign by his goodneſs and bounty. But with

[*r*] Gen. i. 1.
[*s*] Prov. viii. 31
[*t*] Pſ. xcii. 1.

what

what glory is the immortal King inveſted! What riches has he diſplayed to us! From what ſource do ſo many lights and beauties flow? Where were thoſe treaſures, that rich pomp hid, which iſſued out from the womb of darkneſs? How great muſt the majeſty of the Creator be, if that which ſurrounds him imprints ſo great an awe and veneration! What muſt he himſelf be, when his works are ſo magnificent!

The ſame prophet, in another Pſalm, coming out of a profound meditation on the works of God, and filled with admiration and gratitude, exhorts himſelf to praiſe and bleſs the infinite majeſty and goodneſs, whoſe wonders aſtoniſh, and whoſe bleſſings oppreſs him. [*u*] *Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoul: O Lord my God, thou art become exceeding glorious, thou art clothed with majeſty and honour. . . . Thou deckeſt thyſelf with light, as it were with a garment; and ſpreadeſt out the heavens like a curtain.* Would not one think that the God of ages had clothed himſelf on a ſudden with magnificence; and that, iſſuing from the ſecret part of his palace, he diſplayed himſelf in light? But all this is but his outward clothing, and as a mantle which hides him. Thy Majeſty, O my God! is infinitely above the light that ſurrounds it. I fix my eyes on thy garments, not being able to fix them on thyſelf: I can diſcern the rich embroidery of thy purple, but I ſhall ceaſe to ſee thee, ſhould I dare to raiſe my eyes to thy face.

It will be of uſe to compare in this manner the ſimplicity of the hiſtorian, with the ſublime magnificence of the prophets. Theſe ſpeak of the ſame things, but in quite a different view. The ſame may be obſerved with regard to all the circumſtances of the creation. I ſhall preſent the reader with only a few of them, by which he may form a judgment of the reſt.

[*x*] *God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the leſſer light to rule the night: He made the ſtars alſo.*

[*u*] Pſ. civ. 1, 2. [*x*] Gen. i. 16.

Can any thing be more ſimple, and at the ſame time more auguſt? I ſhall ſpeak only of the ſun and ſtars, and will begin with the laſt.

God only is allowed to ſpeak with indifference of the moſt aſtoniſhing ſpectacle with which he had adorned the univerſe: *And the ſtars.* He declares in one word, what coſt him but a word; but who can fathom the vaſt extent of this word? Do we conſider that theſe ſtars are innumerable, all infinitely greater than the earth; all, the planets excepted, an inexhauſtible ſource of light? [*y*] But what order fixed their ranks? and whom does that hoſt of heaven, all whoſe centinels are ſo watchful, obey with ſo much punctuality and joy? The firmament ſet with ſuch a numberleſs multitude of ſtars, [*z*] is the firſt preacher who declares the glory of the Almighty; and, to make all men inexcuſable, we need only that book written in characters of light.

As for the ſun, who can behold it ſtedfaſtly, and bear for any time the ſplendor of its rays? [*a*] *The ſun when it appeareth, declares at its riſing a marvellous inſtrument, the work of the moſt High: at noon it parcheth the country, and who can abide the burning heat thereof? A man blowing a furnace is in works of heat, but the ſun burneth the mountains three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, and ſending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes. Great is the Lord that made it, and at his commandment it runneth haſtily.* Is this then the ſame ſun, which is mentioned in Geneſis in ſo plain and ſimple a manner: *He made its light greater, that it might preſide over the day?* How many beauties are comprehended, and, as it were, veiled under theſe few words? Can we conceive the pomp and profuſion with which the ſun begins its courſe; the colours with which he embelliſhes nature; and with what magnificence himſelf is arrayed at his appearing on the horizon, as the ſpouſe whom heaven and earth await, and whoſe delight he forms? *He cometh forth out of his chamber as a bridegroom.* But be-

[*y*] Baruc. iii. 34, 35. [*z*] Pſ. xix. 1. [*a*] Eccl. xliii. 2, 5.

hold

hold in what manner he unites the majesty and graces of a bridegroom, with the rapid course of a giant, who is less studious to please, than to carry, throughout the world, the news of the prince who sends him, and who is less attentive to his dress than to his duty. *He exulted as a giant who is to run his race. He came from the highest heaven, and his course is to its heighth; nor can one hide himself from his heat.* His light is as strong and diffusive as at the first day, so that the perpetual deluge of fire, which spreads from all parts of it, has not diminished the incomprehensible source of so full and precipitated a profusion. The prophet had just reason to cry out, *Great is the Lord who made it!* How great is the majesty of the Creator, and what must he himself be, since his works are so august!

I shall add further, that passage which relates to the creation of the sea: [*b*] *God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear.*

Had not the prophets assisted us in discovering the wonders concealed under the surface of these words, their depth would be more unfathomable with regard to us, than that of the sea.

This commandment, which is here but a single expression, is a dreadful menace, and a thunder, according to the prophet. [*c*] *The waters stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled: at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.* Instead of running off gently, they fled with fear; they hasted to precipitate themselves, and to crowd one over the other, in order to leave that space void which they seemed to have usurped, since God drove them from thence. Something like this happened when God made his people to pass through the Red Sea and the river Jordan, *The Red Sea made a noise, and was dried up*; whence another prophet takes occasion [*d*] to ask God, whether he is angry at the river and the seas.

[*b*] Gen. i. 9.
[*c*] Ps. civ. 6, 7.
[*d*] Habak. iii. 8.

In this tumultuous obedience, where the frighted waters, one would imagine, ſhould have ſwept away every thing in their courſe, an inviſible hand governed them with as much eaſe as a mother governs and handles a child ſhe had firſt ſwathed, and afterwards put in his cradle. It is under theſe images God repreſents to us what he did at that time. [e] *Who ſhut up the ſea with doors, when it brake forth as if it had iſſued out of the womb? When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkneſs a ſwaddling band for it; and brake up for it my decreed place, and ſet bars and doors, and ſaid, Hitherto ſhalt thou come, but no further; and here ſhall thy proud waves be ſtayed.* There is no occaſion to raiſe the beauty of theſe laſt words, for who is not affected with them? God marked out bounds to the ſea, and it did not dare to tranſgreſs them: [f] that which was written on its ſhores prevented it from going beyond them; and that element, which appears the moſt ungovernable, was equally obedient both in its flight and in its ſtay. This obedience has continued the ſame for many ages; and how tumultuous ſoever the waves may appear, the inſtant they come near the ſhore, God's prohibition keeps them in awe, and ſtops their progreſs.

III. *The* BEAUTY *of the* SCRIPTURES *does not ariſe from the* WORDS, *but the* THINGS.

It is well known, that the moſt excellent Greek and Latin authors loſe moſt of their graces when tranſlated literally, becauſe a great part of their beauty conſiſts in the expreſſion: but as that of the Scriptures conſiſts more in the things than the words, we find that it ſubſiſts and ſtrikes in the moſt verbal tranſlation. This will plainly appear from every part of the Scripture. I ſhall content myſelf with tranſcribing only two or three paſſages from it.

1. [g] *Wo unto them that join houſe to houſe, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midſt of the earth. In mine ears ſaid the*

[e] Job xxxviii. 8, 10. [f] Jerem. v. 22. [g] Iſai. v. 8, 9.

Lord

Lord of hoſts, of a truth many houſes ſhall be deſolate, even great and fair without inhabitant.

There is nothing in all the Eloquence of the heathens, comparable to the vivacity of the reproach which the prophet here makes to the wiſe men of his time, who, neglecting the law of God, which had aſſigned to every man in particular, a proportion of the promiſed land, with a prohibition to alienate it for ever; ſwallowed up in their vaſt parks, the vineyard, the field, and the houſe of thoſe who were ſo unhappy as to live near them.

But the reflection which the prophet adds, ſeems to me no leſs eloquent, notwithſtanding its great ſimplicity; *In mine ears ſaid the Lord of hoſts.* I hear the Lord; his voice is at my ear. Whilſt the whole world attends to nothing but their pleaſures, and that no one hears the law of God, I already hear his thunder roaring againſt thoſe ambitious rich men, who think of nothing but building and eſtabliſhing their abode upon the earth. God echoes in mine ear a perpetual threat againſt their vain enterpriſes, and a kind of oath more dreadful than the threat itſelf, becauſe it proves the latter ready to break forth, and irrevocable: *Of a truth many houſes ſhall be deſert, &c.*

2. The ſame prophet deſcribes the characteriſtics of the Meſſiah in a wonderful manner. [*b*] *For unto us a child is born, unto us a ſon is given, and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder: and his name ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellor, The mighty God, The everlaſting Father, The Prince of peace.*

I ſhall conſider only the following expreſſion, *and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder*; this includes a wonderful image, and has a peculiar energy when conſidered with due attention.

Jeſus Chriſt ſhall be born an infant, but then he ſhall not wait either for years or experience before he reigns. He ſhall not ſtand in need of being acknowledged by his ſubjects, nor of being aſſiſted by his armies, in order to ſubdue rebels; for he himſelf will be

[*b*] Iſai. ix. 6.

his ſtrength, his power, his royalty. He ſhall differ infinitely from other kings, who cannot be ſuch unleſs they are acknowledged by ſome ſtate; and who fall into the condition of private men, if their ſubjects refuſe to obey them. Their authority is not their own, nor from themſelves, nor can they give it duration. But the child who ſhall be born, even when he ſhall appear to be in want of all things, and to be incapable of commanding, ſhall bear all the weight of divine majeſty and royalty. [*i*] He ſhall ſupport every thing by his efficacy and power; and his ſovereign authority reſides fully and wholly in himſelf, *and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder.* Nothing ſhall prove this better than the manner in which he ſhall chuſe to reign. He muſt have from himſelf, and independent of all exterior means, a ſovereign power, in order to make him be worſhipped by mankind, notwithſtanding the ignominy of the croſs, which he ſhall vouchſafe to take upon himſelf; and to change the inſtrument of his puniſhment into the inſtrument of his victory, and the moſt ſplendid mark of his ſovereignty; *the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder.*

Thoſe who ſtudy the Scripture attentively, find that the beauty of it conſiſts in the ſtrength and greatneſs of the thoughts.

IV. DESCRIPTION.

1. Cyrus was the greateſt conqueror, and the moſt accompliſhed prince mentioned in hiſtory, the reaſon of which the Scripture gives us, viz. that God himſelf had taken a pleaſure in forming him, for the accompliſhment of his intended mercy to his people. He calls him by his name two hundred years before his birth, and declares, that he himſelf will ſet the crown on his head, and put a ſword in his hand, in order to make him the deliverer of his people.

[*k*] *Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whoſe right-hand I have holden, to ſubdue nations before*

[*i*] Heb. i. 3, Iſa. xl. 10. [*k*] Iſa. xlv. 1, 2, 5.

him;

him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. . . . I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no God besides me. I girded thee, though thou hast not known me.

In another place, he commands Cyrus king of the Persians, then called Elamites, to set out with the Medes; he orders the siege to be made, and the walls to fall down. [*l*] *March, Elam; Mede, do thou besiege. In fine, Babylon will no longer make others sigh.* Let him come now at my command; let him join with the Medes; let him besiege a city which is an enemy to my worship and to my people; let him obey me without knowing me; let him follow me with his eyes shut; let him execute my commands without being either of my counsel, or in my confidence; and let him teach all princes, and even all men, how I am sovereign over empires, events, and even wills; since I make myself to be equally obeyed by kings, and every private soldier in the armies, without having any occasion either to reveal myself, or to exhort, or employ any other means than my will, which is also my power. [*m*] *That they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me; I am the Lord, and there is none else.*

How majestic are these few words! *Go up, Elam*; Prince of the Persians, set out. *Besiege, Mede:* and you, prince of the Medes form the siege. *I have made all their groans to cease:* Babylon is taken and plundered: it has no power; its tyranny is at an end.

2. The Scriptures have painted in the strongest colours, how greatly sensible God is to the oppression of the poor and the weak, as well as to the injustice of the judges and the mighty of the earth.

[*n*] Isaiah represents truth feeble and trembling, imploring, but in vain, the assistance of the judges,

[*l*] Isa. xxi. 2. [*n*] Ibid. lix. 14—16.
[*m*] Ibid. xlv. 6.

and

and repreſenting herſelf to no purpoſe before every tribunal. Acceſs is denied her every where; ſhe is in all places rejected, forgotten, and trodden under foot. Intereſt prevails over right, and the good man is delivered up a prey to the unjuſt. *And the Lord ſaid it, and it diſpleaſed him that there was no judgment. And he ſaw that there was no man, and he wondered that there was no interceſſor.*

His ſilence would make me conclude, either that he does not ſee thoſe diſorders, or that he is indifferent to them. It is not ſo, ſays the prophet in another place; every thing is prepared for judgment, whilſt men are not thinking any thing of the matter. [*o*] The inviſible judge is preſent. He is ſtanding in order to take in hand the defence of thoſe who have no other; and to pronounce a very different ſentence againſt the unjuſt, and in behalf of thoſe who are poor and weak. *The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of his people, and the princes thereof; for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the ſpoil of the poor is in their houſes. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? ſays the Lord God of hoſts.* Nothing can be ſtronger or more eloquent than the reproaches which God makes in this place, to the judges and princes of his people. How! You who ought to defend my people, as a vine that was committed to your care; you who ought to ſerve as a hedge and a rampart to it; it is you yourſelves have made wild havock of this vine, and ruined it, as tho' the [*p*] fire had paſt over it. *And you eat the vine.* Had you been but a little tender of your brethren, and not ruined them entirely! but after you had ſtripped my people, you lay them in the wine-preſſes, in order to ſqueeze the marrow out of their bones: *You bruiſe them*; you cruſh them under the mill, in order to grind them to duſt; *you grind them.* You perhaps intend to conceal your thefts and rapine from me, by converting them into proud furniture for the ornament of your houſes. I have followed with at-

[*o*] Iſa. iii. 13—15. [*p*] So the original ſays.

tentive

tentive and jealous eyes, all you have deſpoiled your brother of; and ſee it, notwithſtanding your great endeavours to hide it. *The ſpoil of the poor is in your houſes.* Every thing calls aloud for vengeance, and ſhall obtain it; it ſhall fall on you and your children; and the ſon of an unjuſt father, as he inherits his crime, will alſo inherit my anger. [*q*] *Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and ſtabliſheth a city by iniquity. For the ſtones ſhall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber ſhall anſwer it.*

We obſerve a quite oppoſite character in the perſon of Job, who was the pattern or example of a good judge and a good prince. [*r*] *For from my youth compaſſion was brought up with me as with a father, and I have guided her from my mother's womb. . . . I put on righteouſneſs, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. . . . I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherleſs, and him that had none to help him. The bleſſing of him that was ready to periſh came upon me; and I cauſed the widow's heart to ſing for joy. . . I was eyes to the blind; and feet was I to the lame. . . I was a father to the poor. . . . I brake the jaws of the wicked, and pluckt the ſpoil out of his teeth.*

3. I ſhall conclude with a deſcription of a very different kind from thoſe which preceded it, but no leſs remarkable; it is that of a war-horſe, which God himſelf deſcribed in the book of Job.

[*s*] *Haſt thou*, ſays God to Job, *given the horſe ſtrength? Haſt thou clothed his neck with thunder? Canſt thou make him afraid as a graſhopper? The glory of his noſtrils is terrible. He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his ſtrength: he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the ſword. The quiver rattleth againſt him, the glittering ſpear and the ſhield. He ſwalloweth the ground with fierceneſs and rage; neither believeth he that it is the ſound of the trumpet. He ſaith among the trum-*

[*q*] Hab. ii. 11, 12. 14—17.
[*r*] Job xxxi. 18. xxix. 12, [*s*] Ibid. xxxix. 19—25.

pets,

pets, Ha, ha; and he ſmelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and ſhouting.

Every word of this would merit an explication, in order to diſplay the beauties of it; but I ſhall take notice only of the latter, which give a kind of underſtanding and ſpeech to the horſe.

Armies are a long time before they are ſet in battle array, and are ſometimes a great while in view of one another without moving. All the motions are marked by particular ſignals, and the ſoldiers are appointed to perform their various duties, by the ſound of trumpet. This ſlowneſs is importunate to the horſe; as he is ready at the firſt ſound of the trumpet, he is very impatient to find the army muſt ſo often have notice given to it. He repines ſecretly againſt all theſe delays, and not being able to continue in his place, nor to diſobey orders, he ſtrikes the ground perpetually with his hoof, and complains, in his way, that the ſoldiers loſe their time in gazing one upon another. *He ſwalloweth the ground with fierceneſs and rage.* In his impatience, he conſiders as nothing all ſuch ſignals as are not deciſive, and which only point out ſome circumſtances to which he is not attentive; *neither believeth he that it is the ſound of a trumpet.* But when it is in earneſt, and that the laſt blaſt of the trumpet calls to battle, then the whole countenance of the horſe is changed. One would conclude that he diſtinguiſhes, as by his ſmell, that the battle is going to begin; and that he heard the general's order diſtinctly, and anſwers the confuſed cries of the army, by a noiſe, which diſcovers his joy and courage. *He ſaith among the trumpets, Ha, ha, and he ſmelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and ſhouting.*

If the reader compares Homer's and Virgil's admirable deſcriptions of the horſe, he will find how vaſtly ſuperior this is to them both.

V. FIGURES.

It would be an endleſs labour to run over all the different kinds of figures in the Scriptures. The paſſages above cited include a large number, and to theſe I ſhall add a few more, eſpecially of thoſe that are moſt common, ſuch as the metaphor, the ſimile, the repetition, the apoſtrophe, and proſopopœia.

1. *The* METAPHOR *and* SIMILE.

[*t*] *I have always dreaded the anger of God, as waves hanging over my head, and I could not bear the weight of them.* What an idea does this give us of God's anger! waves that ſwallow up every thing, a weight that overwhelms and daſhes to pieces. [*u*] *I ſhall bear the anger of the Lord.* How can we bear it to all eternity?

Nor is the magnificence of God with regard to his elect, leſs difficult to be comprehended and explained. [*x*] *He will make them drunk with his bleſſings, and will overflow thee with a flood of delights.*

But there is another kind of drunkenneſs reſerved for the wicked. [*y*] *Thou ſhalt be filled with drunkenneſs and ſorrow*, ſays a prophet to wicked Jeruſalem, *with the cup of aſtoniſhment and deſolation, with the cup of thy ſiſter Samaria. Thou ſhalt even drink it, and ſuck it out, and thou ſhalt break the ſherds thereof, and pluck off thine own breaſts: for I have ſpoken it, ſaith the Lord.* This is a dreadful picture of the rage of the damned, but infinitely fainter than truth.

2. REPETITION.

[*z*] *Like as I have watched over them, to pluck up and to break down, and to throw down, and to deſtroy,*

[*t*] Job xxxi. 25.
[*u*] Mich. vii. 9.
[*x*] Pſal. xxxv. 9.
[*y*] Ezek. xxiii. 33, 34.
[*z*] Jer. xxxi. 28.

and

and to afflict; *ſo will I watch over them, to build, and to plant, ſaith the Lord.* The conjunction here repeated ſeveral times, denotes, as it were, ſo many redoubled ſtrokes of God's anger.

[*a*] *Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, becauſe ſhe made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.* This repetition, which is alſo in [*b*] Iſaiah, denotes that the fall of this great city will appear incredible; and that every one, before he will believe it really is fallen, will cauſe it to be repeated ſeveral times to him.

[*c*] *Now will I riſe, ſaith the Lord*; *now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myſelf.* That is to ſay, after having a long time to lie aſleep, he will at length come out of his ſleep, to undertake the defence of his people with ſplendor, and that the moment is come; *Now, now.* God expreſſes himſelf ſtill more ſtrongly in the ſame prophet. [*d*] *I have long time holden my peace, I have been ſtill and reſtrained myſelf: now will I cry like a travailing woman*; *I will deſtroy and devour at once.*

3. APOSTROPHE, PROSOPOPEIA.

Theſe two figures are often blended. The latter conſiſts chiefly in giving life, ſentiment, or ſpeech to inanimate things, or in addreſſing diſcourſe to them.

In the cxxxviith Pſalm, it is a citizen of Jeruſalem baniſhed to Babylon, who ſitting mournfully on the banks of the river which watered that city, breathes his grief and complaints, in turning his eyes towards his dear country. His maſters who kept him in captivity, urged him to play ſome airs on his muſical inſtrument for their diverſion. But he, filled with grief and indignation, cries out, [*e*] *How ſhall we ſing the Lord's ſong, in a ſtrange land? If I forget thee, O Jeruſalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do*

[*a*] Rev. xiv. 8.
[*b*] Iſa. xxi. 9.
[*c*] Ibid. xxxiii. 10.
[*d*] Ibid. xlii. 14.
[*e*] Pſal. cxxxvii. 4—6.

not

not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. How tender! how affecting, does this apoſtrophe to the city of Jeruſalem make the diſcourſe of this baniſhed Jew! He imagines he ſees it, diſcourſes with it, proteſts with an oath, that he will loſe his voice and the uſe of his tongue, and that of his inſtruments, rather than forget it, by partaking in the falſe joys of Babylon.

The ſacred writers make a wonderful uſe of the proſopopeia, and Jeruſalem is often the object of it. I ſhall content myſelf with pointing out only a ſingle example taken from [*f*] Baruch, where that prophet deſcribes the unhappineſs of the Jews who are led captives to Babylon. He introduces Jeruſalem as a mother in the deepeſt affliction, but at the ſame time obedient to the inſtructions of God, how rigorous ſoever, who exhorts her children to obey the ſentence which condemns them to baniſhment; who bewails her ſolitary condition and their miſeries; who repreſents to them, that it is the juſt puniſhment for their prevarications and ingratitude; who gives them ſalutary advice, in order to their making an holy uſe of their ſevere captivity; and who, at laſt, full of confidence in the goodneſs and promiſes of God, promiſes them a glorious return. The prophet afterwards addreſſes himſelf to Jeruſalem, and comforts her, from the proſpect that her children will be recalled, and the ſeveral advantages to ſucceed their return. *Put off, O Jeruſalem, the garment of thy mourning and affliction, and put on the comelineſs and the glory that cometh from God for ever. . . . For thy name ſhall be called of God for ever, the peace of righteouſneſs, and the glory of God's worſhip.*

Nothing is more common in the Scriptures than to give life to the ſword of God. [*g*] God lays his command on it, it ſharpens, it poliſhes itſelf, prepares to obey; ſets out at the appointed moment; goes where God ſends it, devours his enemies, fattens itſelf with their fleſh, gets drunk with their blood; grows hot

[*f*] Baruch v. 1—4. [*g*] Ezek. xxi. 28. ix. 10. Iſa. xxxiv. 6.

with

with ſlaughter; and after having executed its maſter's commands, returns to its place. The prophet Jeremiah unites almoſt all theſe ideas in one place, and adds others more animated to them. [*b*] *O thou ſword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? Put up thyſelf into thy ſcabbard; reſt and be ſtill. How can it be quiet*, replies the prophet, *ſeeing the Lord hath given it a charge againſt Aſhkelon, and againſt the ſea ſhore? there hath he appointed it.*

VI. SUBLIME PASSAGES.

[*i*] *God ſaid, let there be light, and there was light:* It is in the original, God ſaid, *Let light be, and light was.*

Where was it a moment before? How could it ſpring from the very womb of darkneſs? At the ſame inſtant with light, the ſeveral colours which ſpring from it, embelliſhed all nature. The world, that had been hitherto plunged in darkneſs, ſeemed to iſſue a ſecond time out of nothing; and every thing by being enlightned, was beautified.

[*k*] This was produced by a ſingle word, the majeſty of which even ſtruck the heathens, who admired Moſes's making God ſpeak as a ſovereign; and that inſtead of employing expreſſions, which a little genius would have thought magnificent, he contented himſelf with only, *God ſaid, let there be light, and there was light.*

And, indeed, nothing can be greater or more elevated than this way of thinking. To create light (and it is the ſame here with regard to the univerſe) God needed only to ſpeak: it would be too much to ſay, he needed only to have willed it, [*l*] for the voice of God is will; he ſpeaks as a commander, and commands by his decrees.

[*b*] Jer. xlvii. 6, 7.
[*i*] Gen. i. 3.
[*k*] Longin.
[*l*] Dicere Dei, voluiſſe eſt. S. Eucher. Naturæ opifex lucem locutus eſt & creavit. Sermo Dei, voluntas eſt: opus Dei, natura eſt. S. Ambroſe.

The

The vulgate has a little leſſened the vivacity of the expreſſion: *God ſaid, let the light be made, and the light was made.* For the word *made*, which has different progreſſions among men, and ſuppoſes a ſucceſſion of times, ſeems in ſome ſort to retard the work of God, which was performed at the very moment he willed it, and received its perfection in an inſtant.

The prophet Iſaiah makes God deliver himſelf, with the ſame ſublimity, when he foretells the taking of Babylon. [*m*] *I am the Lord that maketh all things, that ſtretcheth forth the heavens alone, that ſpreadeth abroad the earth by myſelf; . . That ſaith to the deep* [*n*], *be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers; That ſaith of Cyrus, he is my ſhepherd, and ſhall perform all my pleaſure, even ſaying to Jeruſalem, Thou ſhalt be built; and to the temple, thy foundation ſhall be laid.*

The kings of Syria and Iſrael had ſworn the deſtruction of Judah, and the meaſures they had taken for that purpoſe, ſeemed to make its ruin unavoidable. A ſingle word baffles their deſign, [*o*] *Thus ſaith the Lord God, it ſhall not ſtand, neither ſhall it come to paſs.*

The ſame thought is amplified in another place; and the prophet who knows that God has promiſed to prolong the race of David, till the time of the Meſſiah who was to ſpring from him, defies, with a holy pride, the vain efforts of the princes and nations who conſpired to deſtroy the family and throne of David. [*p*] *Aſſociate yourſelves, O ye people, and ye ſhall be broken in pieces; and give ear all ye of far countries: gird yourſelves, and ye ſhall be broken in pieces; gird yourſelves, and ye ſhall be broken in pieces. Take counſel together, and it ſhall come to nought; ſpeak the word, and it ſhall not ſtand: for God is with us.* Iſaiah here propheſies in words ſuitable to the infinite power of God, that though all men ſhould unite together, they yet ſhould not retard, one inſtant, immutable promiſes; that

[*m*] Iſa. xliv. 24, 27, 28.
[*n*] He names the Euphrates, which Cyrus dried up in order to take Babylon.
[*o*] Iſa. vii. 7.
[*p*] Iſa. viii. 9, 10.

confederacies, conſpiracies, ſecret deſigns, powerful armies ſhould have no effect; that all thoſe who attack the weak kingdom of Judah, ſhould be overcome; that the whole univerſe united ſhould not be able to effect any thing againſt it: and that the circumſtance which would render it invincible, was, *God's being with it*, or, which is the ſame thing, becauſe Emanuel was his protector and his king, and that *his* intereſt was the preſent concern, rather than that of the princes he was to ſpring from.

Numberleſs obſtacles oppoſed Zerubbabel's deſign of cauſing the temple of Jeruſalem to be rebuilt; and theſe obſtacles, like ſo many mountains, ſeemed to defy all human efforts. God only ſpeaks, but with the voice of a ſovereign, and the mountain vaniſhes: *Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou ſhalt become a plain.*

Every one knows with what energy the Scriptures make the impious man vaniſh, who a moment before ſeemed, like the cedar, to raiſe his proud head to the ſkies. [*q*] *I have ſeen the wicked in great power; and ſpreading himſelf like a green bay-tree: yet he paſſed away, and lo, he was not: yea I ſought him, but he could not be found.* He is ſo completely annihilated, that the very place where he ſtood was deſtroyed. M. Racine has tranſlated this paſſage as follows.

Ja'i vû l'impie adoré ſur la terre,
Pariel au cédre, il cachoit dans le cieux
Son front audacieux.
Il ſembloit à ſon gré gouverner le tonnerre,
Fouloit aux piés ſes ennemis vaincus,
Je n'ai fait que paſſer, il n'étoit déja plus [*r*].

Engliſhed.

" I've ſeen the impious wretch ador'd on earth,
" And, like the cedar, hide his daring front
" High in the heavens. He ſeem'd to rule at will

[*q*] Pſal. xxxvii. 35, 36. [*r*] Eſther, Act v. ſcene derniere.

" The

" The forked thunder, and to cruſh his captives.—
" I only paſt, and lo! he was no more."

Such is the grandeur of the moſt formidable princes, when they do not fear God; a ſmoke, a vapour, a ſhadow, a dream, a vain image: [s] *Man walketh in a vain ſhadow.*

But, on the other ſide, what a noble idea do the Scriptures give us of the greatneſs of God! [t] He is He who is. His name is The Eternal; the whole world is his work. The heaven is his throne, and the earth his footſtool. All nations are before him but as a drop of water, and the earth they inhabit but as a particle of duſt. The whole univerſe is before the Almighty as though it were not. His power and wiſdom conduct it, and regulate all the motions of it with as much eaſe as an hand holds a light weight, with which it ſports rather than bears it. [u] He diſpoſes of kingdoms as the abſolute ſovereign of them, and gives them to whom he pleaſes; but both his empire and power are infinite.

All this appears to us great and ſublime, and is indeed ſo when compared to us. But when we ſpeak to men in words they are capable of underſtanding, what can we ſay that is worthy of God? The Scriptures themſelves ſink under the weight of his majeſty, and the expreſſions they uſe, how magnificent ſoever they may be, bear no proportion to the greatneſs, which alone deſerves that name.

This Job obſerves in a wonderful manner. After having related the wonders of the creation, he concludes with a very ſimple, but, at the ſame time, a very ſublime reflection: [x] *Lo, theſe are parts of his ways: but how little a portion is heard of him? but the thunder of his power who can underſtand?* The little he diſcovers to us of his infinite grandeur, bears no proportion to what he is, and nevertheleſs ſurpaſſes our underſtanding. He ſtoops, and we cannot riſe to him,

[s] Pſalm xxxix. 6.
[t] Exod. iii. 14. Iſa. lxvi. 1. xl. 12, 15, 17.
[u] Dan. vi. 14, 31.
[x] Job xxvi. 14.

at the time that he descends to us. He is constrained to employ our thoughts and expressions in order to make himself intelligible; and even then, we are rather dazzled with his brightness, than truly enlightened. But how would it be, should he reveal himself in all his majesty? Should he lift up the veil which softens its rays? Should he tell us who he is, what ear could resist the thunder of his voice? What eye would not be blinded by a light so disproportioned to their weakness? *But the thunder of his power who can understand?*

VII. TENDER *and* AFFECTING PASSAGES.

One would not believe, that such great majesty would descend so low as to speak to man, if the Scripture did not give us some proofs of it in every page. The most lively, the most tender things in nature, are all too faint to express his love.

[y] *I have nourished and brought up children*, says he by the mouth of Isaiah, *and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.*

[z] *And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? Wherefore when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?*

[a] *They say, If a man put away his wife, and she go from him, and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? Shall not that land be greatly polluted? But thou hast played the harlot with many lovers, yet return again to me, saith the Lord.*

[b] *Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant of the house of Israel, which are borne by me, from the belly, which are carried from the womb. And even to your old age I am he, and even to hoary hairs will I*

[y] Isa. i. 2, 3.
[z] Ibid. v. 3, 4.
[a] Jer. iii. 1.
[b] Isa. xlvi. 3, 4.

carry

carry you: I have made, and I will bear, even I will carry and will deliver you.

[*c*] *As one whom his mother comforteth, ſo will I comfort you; and ye ſhall be comforted in Jeruſalem.*

[*d*] *But Zion ſaid, The Lord hath forſaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me. Can a woman forget her ſucking child, that ſhe ſhould not have compaſſion on the ſon of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee.*

Though theſe compariſons are vaſtly tender, they yet are not enought ſo, to denote his tenderneſs and ſolicitude for men who ſo little deſerve it. This ſovereign of the univerſe does not diſdain to compare himſelf to a hen, who has her wings perpetually extended, in order to receive her young ones under them; and he declares, that the leaſt of his ſervants is as dear to him as the apple of his eye. [*e*] *O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, thou that killeſt the prophets, and ſtoneſt them which are ſent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!* He himſelf, ſpeaking of his people, ſays thus: [*f*] *He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.*

Hence come theſe expreſſions ſo uſual in Scripture; and it is ſurpriſing, that creatures ſhould dare to uſe them when they ſpeak of God: [*g*] *Keep me as the apple of thine eye; hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.* To what man, O my God, could I ſpeak in this manner, and to whom could I ſay that I am as precious as the apple of his eye? But you yourſelf inſpire, and enjoin this confidence. Nothing can be more delicate or weaker than the apple of the eye; and in that reſpect it is the image of myſelf. Be it ſo, O my God, in every thing elſe; and multiply thy ſuccours with regard to me, as you have multiplied the precautions with regard to that, by ſecuring it with eyelids. *Keep me as the apple of thine eye.* Mine enemies ſurround

[*c*] Iſa. lxvi. 13.
[*d*] Ibid. xlix. 14, 15.
[*e*] Mat. xxiii. 37.
[*f*] Zech. ii. 8.
[*g*] Pſal. xvii. 8.

me like birds of prey, and I cannot escape them, if I do not fly for shelter to thy bosom. You taught callow birds to withdraw beneath the shelter of their mother's wings; and have inspired mothers with a wonderful care and tenderness for their young ones. You have represented yourself in your own works, and have exhorted mankind to have recourse to you, by all the testimonies of your goodness, which you have diffused in the animals and over nature. Let me presume, O my God, to put a confidence in thee, proportionate to thy goodness for me. *Hide me under the shadow of thy wings.*

Nothing can be more affecting than the admirable story of Joseph; and one can scarce refrain from tears, [*h*] when we see him obliged to turn aside in order to dry his own, because his bowels yearned at the presence of Benjamin; or when, after having discovered himself, he throws himself about the neck of his dear brother, and folding him in the strictest embrace, mingles his tears with those of Benjamin, and discovers the same affectionate tenderness for the rest of his brethren, over each of whom it is said he wept. At that instant not one of them spoke, and this silence is infinitely more eloquent than any expressions he could have employed. Surprise, grief, the remembrance of what was past, joy, gratitude, stifle their words: the heart can express itself no other ways than by tears, which would, but cannot sufficiently express their thoughts.

When we read the sad [*i*] lamentation of Jeremiah over the ruins of Jerusalem; when we behold that city, once so populous, reduced to a dreadful solitude; the queen of nations become as a disconsolate widow; the streets of Zion weeping, because no one assists at its solemnities; her priests and virgins plunged in bitterness, groaning day and night; her old men, covered with sackcloth and ashes, sighing over the sad ruin of their country; her famished children

[*h*] Gen. xliii. 30. xlv. 12, 14, 15.

[*i*] Lament. i. 1—4. ii. 10. iv. 4.

crying

crying for bread, but without getting any; we are ready to cry out with the prophet, [k] *O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the ſlain of the daughter of my people!*

It was this deplorable ſtate of Jeruſalem that made the prophet vent perpetually ſuch warm complaints, ſuch tender prayers as theſe. [l] *Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holineſs, and of thy glory: Where is thy zeal and thy ſtrength, the ſounding of thy bowels, and of thy mercies towards me? Are they reſtrained? . . .* [m] *But now, O Lord, thou art our father: we are the clay, and thou our potter, and we are all the work of thy hand. . . . Behold, ſee, we beſeech thee, we are all thy people. Thy holy cities are a wilderneſs, Zion is a wilderneſs, Jeruſalem a deſolation. Our holy and our beautiful houſe, where our fathers praiſed thee, is burnt up with fire; and all our pleaſant things are laid waſte. Wilt thou refrain thyſelf for theſe things, O Lord? Wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very ſore?*

VIII. CHARACTERS.

It is not ſurpriſing, that the Spirit of God ſhould have deſcribed, in the Scriptures, the different characters of men in ſuch lively colours. He implanted in our hearts all the rational ſentiments they have; and he knows much better than we do, ſuch as our own degeneracy has added to them.

Who does not at once ſee the ingenuous candour and innocent ſimplicity of childhood, in the [n] relation which Joſeph makes to his brethren of thoſe dreams, which were to excite their jealouſy and hatred againſt him, and which really had that effect?

When Joſeph diſcovers himſelf to his family, he ſpeaks a very few words, but then they are the ex-

[k] Jerem. ix. 1.
[l] Iſa. lxiii. 15.
[m] Ibid. lxiv. 8—12.
[n] Gen. xxxvii. 8.

preſſions of nature itſelf; [o] *I am Joſeph: doth my father yet live?* This is one of thoſe ſtrokes of Eloquence which are inimitable. Joſephus the hiſtorian was not touched with this beauty, or, at leaſt, did not preſerve it in his relation; for the long diſcourſe he ſubſtitutes for it, tho' very beautiful, does not ſupply its place.

There is a paſſage in the Acts, which paints in a wonderful, and at the ſame time natural manner, a ſudden and impetuous joy. St. Peter had been thrown into priſon, and miraculouſly releaſed from it; when he came to the houſe of Mary, mother to John, where the faithful were aſſembled in prayer, [p] having knocked at the door, a maiden named Rhoda, knowing his voice, inſtead of opening it, (ſo great were the tranſports of her joy) ran to the faithful, to tell them that St. Peter was at the door.

Grief, particularly that of a mother, has alſo a peculiar language and character. I do not know whether it would be poſſible to repreſent them better, than we find them in the admirable ſtory of Tobias. As ſoon as this dear ſon was ſet out upon his journey, his mother, who loved him tenderly, was inconſolable for his abſence; and being plunged in the deepeſt ſorrow, ſhe bewailed herſelf inceſſantly: but her affliction was infinitely greater, when ſhe found he did not return at the time appointed: [q] *My ſon is dead, ſeeing he ſtayeth long; and ſhe began to bewail him, and ſaid: Now I care for nothing, my ſon, ſince I have let thee go, the light of mine eyes. My ſon is dead. And ſhe went out every day into the way which they went, and did eat no meat in the day-time, and ceaſed not whole nights to bewail her ſon Tobias.* We may judge of the effect which Tobias's return with Raphael produced. *The dog, who had followed them all the way, ran before them, and as though he had carried the news of their arrival, he ſeemed to teſtify his joy by the motion of his tail, and his careſſes. Tobias's father, though blind, roſe up,*

[o] Gen. xlv. 2, 3.
[p] Acts xii. 14.
[q] Tob. x. 4, 5, 7.

and

and began to run, though at the hazard of falling every moment; and taking one of the ſervants by the hand, he ran to meet his ſon. Being come up to him, he embraced him, and his mother afterwards, when they began to weep for joy. Then, after worſhipping God, and returning him thanks, they ſat down. This is a moſt exquiſitely finiſhed deſcription; and the penman, in order to make it ſtill more natural, did not omit even the circumſtance of the dog, which is entirely natural.

A word which the ambitious Haman happens to let fall, diſcovers the whole ſtate of their ſouls who abandon themſelves to the inſatiable deſire of honours. He had reached the higheſt point of fortune to which a mortal could attain, and every one bowed the knee to him, except Mordecai. [*r*] *Yet*, ſays he to his friends in confidence, *all this availeth me nothing, ſo long as I ſee Mordecai the Jew ſitting at the king's gate.* M. Racine did not forget this circumſtance, and has made a very happy uſe of it.

Dans les mains des Perſans jeune enfant apporté,
Je gouverne l'empire où je fus acheté.
Mes richeſſes des rois ègalent l'opulence.
Environné d'enfans, ſoutiens de ma puiſſance,
Il ne manque à mon front que le bandeau roial.
Cependant, des mortels aveuglement fatal!
De ces amas d'honneurs la douceur paſſagère
Fait ſur mon cœur à peine une attente légère.
Mais Mardochée aſſis aux portes du palais
Dans ce cœur malheureux enfonce mille traits:
Et toute ma grandeur me devient inſipide,
Tandis que le ſoleil éclaire ce perfide.

Engliſhed.

" Brought when an infant into Perſia's ſtate,
" I rule the empire, where I once was ſold.
" The richeſt kings I equal now in wealth;
" And bleſs'd with children who ſupport my power,
" The royal diadem alone I have not.

[*r*] Eſth. v. 13.

" And

" And yet what fatal blindneſs governs mortals!
" The tranſient ſweets of all theſe mighty honours
" Convey but little pleaſure to my heart,
" Whilſt Mordecai, that ſits before the gates
" Of the king's palace, racks my tortur'd ſoul:
" And all my grandeur is to me inſipid,
" Whilſt the bright ſun beholds that wretch alive."

I ſhall conclude with a paſſage in Scripture, where the ſuppreſſion of a ſingle word deſcribes in a wonderful manner the character of a perſon whoſe ſoul is ſtrongly fixed on an object. The Spirit of God had revealed to David, that the ark would at laſt have a fixed habitation on mount Sion, where ſhould be built the only temple he would have in the world. [*s*] This king and prophet, in the higheſt raptures, and in a manner drunk with holy ecſtaſies; without relating what paſſed within himſelf, nor whom he ſpeaks of; and ſuppoſing that the minds of the reſt of mankind as well as his own are entirely fixed on God, and on the myſtery which had juſt been revealed to him, cries out; [*t*] *His foundation is in the holy mountains. The Lord loveth the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob.* He will therefore change his promiſes no more; and the Lord will no more depart from Iſrael: his habitation will henceforward be fixed among us; his ark will wander no more; his ſanctuary will no longer be uncertain, and Zion ſhall in all ages be the ſeat of his reſt; his foundation is in the holy mountains.

'Tis from the ſame ſentiments of joy that Mary Magdalen, when ſhe was ſeeking Chriſt in the grave, wholly intent upon the object of her love and deſires, imagining it was a gardener ſhe ſaw, ſays to him, without telling him whom ſhe ſpake of, [*u*] *Sir, if thou haſt borne him hence, tell me where thou haſt laid him, and I will take him away.* [*x*] Tranſported, as it were,

[*s*] Repletus Spiritu Sancto civis iſte, & multa de amore & deſiderio civitatis hujus volvens ſecum, tanquam plura intus apud ſe meditatus; erumpit in hoc FUNDAMENTA EJUS. S. Auguſt. in Pſ. lxxxvi.

[*t*] Pſ. lxxxvii. 1, 2.

[*u*] John xx. 15.

[*x*] Vis amoris hoc agere ſolet in animo, ut quem ipſe ſemper cogitat, nullum alium ignorare credat. S. Gregor. Pap.

out

out of herſelf, by the ardour of her love, ſhe thinks every one ought to think of that perſon whoſe idea poſſeſſes her whole ſoul; and that all muſt know him ſhe is ſeeking.

The Pſalms only would furniſh an infinity of admirable examples in every kind of Eloquence; the ſimple, the ſublime, the tender, the vehement, the pathetic ſtyle. The reader may peruſe what biſhop Boſſuet has ſaid on this head, in the ſecond chapter of his preface to the Pſalms, intitled, *De grandiloquentia & ſuavitate Pſalmorum*, i. e. *Of the majeſty and ſweetneſs of the Pſalms.* The lively and ſublime genius of that great man is viſible in every part of it. I ſhall quote but one paſſage from it in this place, which might ſuffice to ſhew, in what manner a taſte of the beauties of the Holy Scripture may be attained: it is that where [*y*] David deſcribes a ſtorm.

" Sit exempli loco illa tempeſtas: *Dixit, & adſtitit* " *ſpiritus procellæ: intumuerunt fluctus: aſcendunt uſque* " *ad cœlos, & deſcendunt uſque ad abyſſos.* Sic undæ " ſuſque deque volvuntur. Quid homines? *Turbati* " *ſunt, & moti ſunt ſicut ebrius: & omnis eorum ſapi-* " *entia abſorpta eſt*; quam profectò fluctuum animo- " rumque agitationem non Virgilius, non Homerus, " tanta verborum copia æquare potuerunt. Jam tran- " quillitas quanta; *ſtatuit procellam ejus in auram, &* " *ſiluerunt fluctus ejus.* Quid enim ſuavius, quàm " mitem in auram deſinens gravis procellarum tumul- " tus, ac mox ſilentes fluctus poſt fragorem tantum? " Jam, quod noſtris eſt proprium, majeſtas Dei quanta " in hac voce; *Dixit, & procella adſtitit!* Non hîc " Juno Æolo ſupplex: non hîc Neptunus in ventos " tumidis exaggeratiſque vocibus ſæviens, atque æſ- " tus iræ ſuæ vix ipſe interim premens. Uno ac ſim- " plici juſſu ſtatim omnia peraguntur."

" Let us uſe as an example, the tempeſt as de- " ſcribed by the Pſalmiſt: *He ſpake, and the ſpirit of* " *the ſtorm came forth. The waves aſcend. They riſe* " *unto the clouds, and ſink even to the abyſs.* In this

[*y*] Pſ. cvi. 25, &c.

" man-

" manner the waves are toſſed to and fro. But what " became of the men? *They are diſturbed and amazed* " *like drunken men, and all their wits are fled.* Such a " force of tempeſt neither Homer nor Virgil could " equal in deſcribing, nor with ſuch copiouſneſs of " expreſſion. But what a calm ſucceeds? *He order-* " *eth the winds, and the waves are ſilent.* What can " be more gentle than their obedience, and their ſi- " lence after ſuch a ſtorm? But ſtill more, how great " is the majeſty of God in this deſcription! He " ſpoke, and the ſtorm was allayed. We have not " here Juno ſupplicating Æolus, nor Neptune with a " boiſterous voice chiding the waves, and ſcarce re- " fraining his anger; all is done by one ſimple com- " mand."

God commands, and the ſea ſwells, and is impetuous: the waves aſcend to the heavens, and deſcend to the depth of the abyſs. God ſpeaks, and with a ſingle word he changes the ſtorm into a gentle breeze, and the tumultuous agitation of the waves into a deep ſilence. How ſtrong! How various are theſe images!

The SONG *of* MOSES, *after his paſſing through the* RED SEA, *explained according to the rules of* RHETORIC.

We owe the explication of this ſong to Mr. *Herſan*, formerly Rhetoric profeſſor in the college Du Pleſſis. The reader may juſtly expect ſomething excellent from his name and reputation. We have thought proper to change ſome few things in it, which the author would not diſapprove, were he living.

MOSES's SONG.

Ver. 1. I Will ſing unto the Lord: for he hath triumphed glorioufly; the horſe and his rider hath he thrown into the ſea.

Ver. 2. The Lord is my ſtrength and ſong, and he is become my ſalvation: he is my God, and I will prepare

prepare him an habitation; my father's God, and I will exalt him.

Ver. 3. The Lord is a man of war: the Lord is his name.

Ver. 4. Pharaoh's chariots and his hoſt hath he caſt into the ſea; his choſen captains alſo are drowned in the Red Sea.

Ver. 5. The depths have covered them; they ſank into the bottom as a ſtone.

Ver. 6. Thy right-hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right-hand, O Lord, hath daſhed in pieces the enemy.

Ver. 7. And in the greatneſs of thine excellency thou haſt overthrown them that roſe up againſt thee: thou ſenteſt forth thy wrath, which conſumed them as ſtubble.

Ver. 8. And with the blaſt of thy noſtrils the waters were gathered together: the floods ſtood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the ſea.

Ver. 9. The enemy ſaid, I will purſue, I will overtake, I will divide the ſpoil: my luſt ſhall be ſatiſfied upon them, I will draw my ſword, mine hand ſhall deſtroy them.

Ver. 10. Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered them: they ſank as lead in the mighty waters.

Ver. 11. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holineſs, fearful in praiſes, doing wonders?

Ver. 12. Thou ſtretchedſt out thy right-hand, the earth ſwallowed them.

Ver. 13. Thou in thy mercy haſt led forth the people which thou haſt redeemed: thou haſt guided them in thy ſtrength unto thy holy habitation.

Ver. 14. The people ſhall hear and be afraid: ſorrow ſhall take hold on the inhabitants of Paleſtine.

Ver. 15. Then the dukes of Edom ſhall be amazed, the mighty men of Moab, trembling ſhall take hold upon them: all the inhabitants of Canaan ſhall melt away.

Ver.

Ver. 16. Fear and dread ſhall fall upon them; by the greatneſs of thine arm they ſhall be as ſtill as a ſtone: till thy people paſs over, O Lord, till the people paſs over, which thou haſt purchaſed.

Ver. 17. Thou ſhalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou haſt made for thee to dwell in: in the ſanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have eſtabliſhed.

Ver. 18. The Lord ſhall reign for ever and ever.

Ver. 19. For the horſe of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and with his horſemen, into the ſea; and the Lord brought again the waters of the ſea upon them; but the children of Iſrael went on dry land in the midſt of the ſea.

The SONG *of* MOSES EXPLAINED *according to the* RULES *of* RHETORIC.

THIS excellent ſong may juſtly be conſidered as one of the moſt eloquent pieces of antiquity. The turn of it is great, the thoughts noble, the ſtyle ſublime and magnificent, the expreſſions ſtrong, and the figures bold; every part of it abounds with images that ſtrike the mind, and poſſeſs the imagination. This piece, which ſome believe was compoſed by Moſes in Hebrew verſe, ſurpaſſes the moſt beautiful deſcriptions, which the heathens have given us in this way. Virgil and Horace, though the moſt perfect models of poetical eloquence, have not writ any thing comparable to it. No man can ſet a higher value than I do on thoſe two great poets, and I ſtudied them cloſe, with the utmoſt pleaſure, for ſeveral years. Nevertheleſs, when I read what Virgil wrote in praiſe of Auguſtus, in the beginning of the third book of the [*m*] Georgics, and at the end of the eighth [*n*] Æneid; and what he makes the prieſt Evander ſing, in the ſame book, in honour of Hercules; though thoſe paſſages are vaſtly fine, they ſeem grovelling to

[*m*] Ver. 16, 39. [*n*] Ver. 675, 728.

me

me in compariſon with the ſong in queſtion [o]. Virgil methinks is all ice, Moſes all fire. The ſame may be affirmed of the fourteenth and fifteenth odes of the fourth book, and the laſt of the epodes.

A circumſtance which ſeems to favour theſe two poets, and other profane writers, is, that we find in them a cadence, a harmony, and elegance of ſtyle, which is not to be met with in the Scriptures. But then we commonly read them in a tranſlation; and it is well known, that the beſt French tranſlators of Cicero, Virgil, and Horace, diſfigure their authors very much. Now, the original language of the Scripture muſt be vaſtly eloquent, ſince there remains more in the copies of it, than in all the Latin works of ancient Rome, and the Greek ones of Athens. The Scriptures are cloſe, conciſe, and void of foreign ornaments, which would only weaken their impetuoſity and fire; hate long perambulations, and reach the mark the ſhorteſt way. They love to include a great many thoughts in a few words; to introduce them as ſo many ſhafts; and to make thoſe objects ſenſible, which are the moſt remote from the ſenſes, by lively and natural images of them. In a word, the Scriptures have a greatneſs, ſtrength, energy, and majeſtic ſimplicity, which raiſe them above every thing in heathen Eloquence. If the reader will but give himſelf the trouble to compare the places above-cited from Virgil and Horace, with the reflection I ſhall now make, he will ſoon be convinced of the truth of what I ſay.

OCCASION *and* SUBJECT *of the* SONG.

The great miracle which God wrought, when the children of Iſrael paſſed through the Red Sea. The prophet's view in it is, to indulge himſelf in his tranſports of joy, admiration, and gratitude, for this great miracle to ſing the praiſes of God the deliverer, to offer up to him public and ſolemn thanks, and to inſpire the people with the ſame ſentiments.

[o] Ver. 287, 302.

Ex-

EXPLICATION *of the* SONG.

Ver. 1. *I Will ſing unto the Lord: for he hath triumphed glorioufly; the horſe and his rider hath he thrown into the ſea.*

Moſes full of admiration, gratitude, and joy, could he poſſibly have better declared the emotions of his heart, than by this impetuous exordium, in which the lively gratitude of the people delivered, and the dreadful greatneſs of God the deliverer, are deſcribed?

This exordium is the ſimple propoſition of the whole piece. It is, as it were, the extract and point of ſight, to which the ſeveral parts of the picture refer. This we muſt carry in our minds, as we read the ſong, to comprehend the artifice with which the prophet draws ſo many beauties, ſo much magnificence, from a propoſition, which at firſt ſight ſeems ſo ſimple and barren.

I will ſing is much more energetic, more affecting, more tender, than it would be in the plural, *we will ſing*. This victory of the Hebrews over the Egyptians is not like thoſe common victories which one nation gains over another, and whoſe fruits are general, vague, common, and almoſt imperceptible to every individual. Here every thing is peculiar to every Iſraelite; every thing is perſonal. At this firſt inſtant, every one reflects on his own chains which are broken; every one imagines he ſees his cruel maſter drowned; every one is ſenſible of the value of his liberty, which is ſecured to him for ever. For it is natural to the heart of man, in extreme danger, to refer every thing to himſelf, and to conſider himſelf as every thing.

The horſe and his rider hath he thrown into the ſea. This ſingular, *the horſe*, *his rider*, which includes the totality of horſes and riders, is much more energetic than the plural would have been. Beſides, the ſingular denotes much better the eaſe and ſuddenneſs of the drowning. The Egyptian cavalry was numerous, formidable, and covered whole plains. It would have required ſeveral days to have defeated and cut them

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to pieces: but God defeated them in an inſtant, with a ſingle effort, at a blow. He overthrew, drowned, overwhelmed them all, as though they had been but one horſe, and one rider: *The horſe and his rider hath he thrown into the ſea.*

The Lord is my ſtrength and ſong, &c. This is the amplification of the firſt words of the ſong, *I will ſing*. Let us obſerve in what manner this is extended.

Of the ſeveral attributes of God, he praiſes only his ſtrength, becauſe it was by that he had been delivered.

My ſtrength. This figure is energetic, for, *the cauſe of my ſtrength*, which is flat and languid; beſides that, *my ſtrength* ſhews, that God alone was to the Iſraelites as courage, and diſpenſed with their making any uſe of it.

My ſong. This is the ſame figure, and equally emphatic. He is the only ſubject of my praiſe: no inſtrument divides it with him; neither power, wiſdom, nor human induſtry, can be aſſociated with him: he alone merits all my gratitude, ſince he alone performed, ordained, and executed every thing. *The Lord is my ſong.*

He is become my ſalvation. The writers of the Auguſtan ages would have writ, *hath ſaved me*, but the Scripture ſays much more. The Lord hath undertaken to perform himſelf, every thing that was requiſite for my ſalvation; he made my ſalvation his own, his perſonal affair; and, what is much more emphatical, *is become my ſalvation.*

He is my God. *He* is emphatical, and ſignifies much more than it is ſuppoſed to do at firſt ſight. *He*, not the gods of the Egyptians and nations; gods void of ſtrength, ſpeechleſs and lifeleſs; but he who performed ſo many prodigies in Egypt and in our paſſage, he is my God, and him will I glorify.

My God. This *my* may have a double relation, the one to God, the other to the Iſraelite. In the former, God appears to be great, powerful, and a God for me only. Unattentive to the reſt of the univerſe, he is employed wholly on my dangers and on my ſafety;

and is ready to ſacrifice all the nations of the earth to my intereſt. In the ſecond relation, *he is my God*; I will never have any other. To him only I conſecrate all my wiſhes, all my deſires, all my confidence. He only is worthy my worſhip and love, and to him only will I for ever pay homage.

My father's God, and I will exalt him. This repetition is inexpreſſibly tender. He whoſe grandeur I exalt, is not a ſtrange God, unknown till this day, a protector for a moment, and ready to aſſiſt any other. No: he is the ancient protector of my family. His goodneſs is hereditary. I have a thouſand domeſtic proofs of his conſtant love, perpetuated from father to ſon, down to me. His ancient kindneſſes were ſo many titles and pledges, which aſſured me of the like. He is the God of my father: he is the God who diſplayed himſelf ſo often to Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob. In fine, he is the God who but now fulfilled the mighty promiſes which he had made to my forefathers.

What has he done to effect this? *The Lord is a man of war.* He might have ſaid, as he is the God of armies, he has delivered us from the army of Pharaoh; but this was ſaying too little. He conſiders his God as a ſoldier, as a captain; he puts, as it were, the ſword into his hand, and makes him fight for the children of Jacob.

The Lord is a man of war; *the Lord is his name.* In the Hebrew it is *Jehovah is a man of war*, *Jehovah is his name.* Moſes inſiſts on the word *Jehovah*, the better to ſhew, by this repetition, who this extraordinary warrior is, who has deigned to fight for Iſrael. As though he had ſaid, *Jehovah*, *the Lord*, *has appeared like a warrior.* Is what I now ſay well underſtood? Is this miracle comprehended in its full latitude? Yes, I again repeat: It is the ſupreme God in perſon, it is the only God; it is, to ſay all in one word, he who is called [*p*] *Jehovah*, whoſe name is incommunicable, who alone poſſeſſes all the fulneſs of being; he is be-

[*p*] Qui eſt . . . Ego ſum, qui ſum.

come

come the champion of Iſrael. Himſelf has been to them inſtead of ſoldiers. He took upon himſelf the whole weight of the war. [q] *The Lord ſhall fight for you, and ye ſhall hold your peace*, ſaid Moſes to the Iſraelites before the battle; as though he had ſaid, You ſhall be ſtill, and not fight.

Ver. 4 and 5. *Pharaoh's chariots and his hoſt hath he caſt into the ſea; his choſen captains hath he alſo drowned in the Red Sea. The depths have covered them; they ſank into the bottom as a ſtone.*

Obſerve the pompous diſplay of all that is contained in theſe two words, *the horſe and his rider.*

1. *Pharaoh's chariots.* 2. *His hoſts.* 3. *His choſen captains.* A beautiful gradation.

How wonderful is this amplification! *He caſt into the ſea. They are drowned in the Red Sea. The depths have covered them: They ſank to the bottom as a ſtone*; all this to explain, *He has thrown into the ſea.* We obſerve in theſe words, a ſeries of images, which ſucceed one another, and ſwell by degrees. 1. *He caſt into the ſea.* 2. *They are drowned in the Red Sea. They are drowned*, improves on *He caſt. . . In the Red, Sea*, is a circumſtance which more determinates than ſimply, *the ſea.* (The Hebrew has it, in the *ſea Suph.*) One would conclude, that Moſes was deſirous of heightening the greatneſs of the power which God exhibited in a ſea which formed part of the Egyptian empire, and which was under the protection of the [r] gods of Egypt. 3. *His choſen captains*, the greateſt of Pharaoh's princes; that is to ſay, the proudeſt, and perhaps thoſe who oppoſed with greateſt violence the laws of the God of Iſrael; in a word, thoſe who were moſt able to ſave themſelves from the ſhipwreck, are ſwallowed up like the meaneſt ſoldiers. 4. *The depths have covered them.* What an image is here! They are covered, overwhelmed, vaniſhed for ever. 5. To complete this picture, he concludes with a ſimile, which is, as it were, the ſtroke that animates and points out the whole; *they ſank into the bottom as a ſtone.* Notwithſtanding their

[q] Exod. xiv. 14. [r] Beelſephon.

pride and haughtineſs, they make no greater reſiſtance to riſe up againſt the arm of God who plunges them, than a ſtone that ſinks to the bottom of the waters.

After this, what ſhould Moſes think, what ſhould he ſay? One of the moſt important rules of Rhetoric, and which Cicero never fails to obſerve, is, that, after an account of a ſurpriſing action, or even of an extraordinary circumſtance, the writer muſt quit the calm and eaſy air proper to narration, and deliver himſelf with more or leſs impetuoſity, according to the nature of the ſubject; this is commonly done by apoſtrophes, interrogations, exclamations, which figures enliven both the diſcourſe and the hearer. All this Moſes has done inimitably in the ſong before us.

Thy right-hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power; thy right-hand, O Lord, hath daſhed in pieces the enemy.

There are ſeveral things to be obſerved here.

1. Moſes might have ſaid, *God has diſplayed his ſtrength by ſtriking Pharaoh.* But how faintly, in how languid a manner, would that expreſs ſo great an action! He ſprings towards God, and ſays to him in a kind of enthuſiaſm, *Thy right-hand, O Lord, is become glorious*, &c.

2. He might have ſaid, *O Lord, thou haſt diſplayed thy ſtrength*, &c. But this is not ſtrong enough, and does not convey a ſenſible idea to the mind; whereas, in the expreſſion of Moſes, we ſee, we diſtinguiſh as it were, the Almighty's hand, which extends itſelf, and cruſhes the Egyptians. Whence I conclude at once, that the true Eloquence is that which perſuades; that it commonly perſuades no other way than by moving; that it moves by things and palpable ideas only; and that for theſe ſeveral reaſons no Eloquence is ſo perfect as that of the Holy Scriptures, ſince the moſt ſpiritual and metaphyſical things are there repreſented by ſenſible and lively images.

3. *Thy right-hand, O Lord, hath daſhed in pieces the enemy.* A moſt beautiful repetition! and very neceſſary to give a ſtronger idea of the power of God's arm. The firſt member of the period, *thy right-hand has become*

come glorious in power, having hinted only at the event in looſe and general terms, the prophet thinks he has not ſaid enough, and to denote the manner of this action, he immediately repeats, *thy right-hand hath daſhed in pieces the enemy.* It is the nature of great paſſions, to repeat thoſe circumſtances which foment them, as appears from all the paſſionate places in the beſt authors; and as is ſeen in the Sacred Writings, particularly in the Pſalms.

4. *In the greatneſs of thine excellency thou haſt overthrown them that roſe up againſt thee.* So many great beauties are concealed in the original text, that they merit ſome illuſtration.

1. By theſe words, *in the greatneſs of thine excellency*, the ſacred writer would deſcribe the action of a nobleman of figure, who aſſumes a haughty air; who riſes in proportion as an impotent inferior preſumes to riſe againſt him, and is pleaſed to ſink him the lower for that reaſon. The Egyptians looked upon themſelves as very great; they even attacked God himſelf, and aſked with a haughty tone, [*s*] *Who is then the Lord?* But as theſe feeble, though inſolent creatures roſe, God roſe alſo, and aſſumed all the elevation of his infinite grandeur, all the height of his ſupreme majeſty againſt them: [*t*] *The proud he knoweth afar off.* And it is from thence he overthrew his enemies who were ſo full of themſelves, and hurled them, not only againſt the earth, but down into the moſt profound abyſſes of the ſea.

2. *That roſe up againſt* THEE. It was not againſt Iſrael that the Egyptians declared war, but it is You they preſumed to attack; it is You they defied. Our quarrel was Yours; it was againſt You they warred; *againſt Thee.* This is a delicate, affecting turn, in order to engage God himſelf in Iſrael's cauſe.

Ver. 7. *Thou ſenteſt forth thy wrath, which conſumeth them as ſtubble.*

[*s*] Exod. v. 2. [*t*] Pſal. cxxxviii. 6.

Ver. 8. *And with the blaſt of thy noſtrils the waters are gathered together; the floods ſtood upright as an heap, and the depths are congealed in the heart of the ſea.*

Ver. 9. *The enemy ſaid, I will purſue, I will overtake, I will divide the ſpoil; my luſt ſhall be ſatisfied upon them, I will draw my ſword, mine hand ſhall deſtroy them.*

Ver. 10. *Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered them: they ſank as lead in the mighty waters.*

Moſes returns to the narration, not as in the fourth and fifth verſes by a mere deſcription, but in continuing his apoſtrophe to God, which gives more paſſion to the relation, and from which the conduct of this ſong ſeems ſuperior to human Eloquence. The farther it removes from the ſimple propoſition which ſerves as an exordium to it, the ſtronger are its amplifications.

Thou ſenteſt forth thy wrath. How great is this figure! How noble the expreſſion! The prophet gives action and life to God's anger; he transforms it into an ardent and zealous miniſter, whom the judge ſends calmly from his throne to execute the decrees of his vengeance. When kings would fight their enemies, they ſtand in need of infantry, cavalry, arms, and a long train of warlike inſtruments; but to God, his wrath alone can puniſh the guilty. *Thou ſenteſt forth thy wrath.* How many things are compriſed in two or three words, which leave to the reader the pleaſure of enumerating in his imagination the fires, the flaſhes of lightning, the thunderbolts, the ſtorms, and all the other inſtruments of this wrath! The beauty of this expreſſion is better felt than expreſſed: we find a certain depth in it, a ſomething, which employs and fills the mind. Horace had this figure in view in the expreſſion *Iracunda fulmina*, and Virgil hit upon it in the ingenious compoſition of the thunder deſcribed in the eighth book of the Æneid.

—— *Sonitumque metumque*
Miſcebant operi, flammiſque ſequacibus iras.

What

What was then the effect of this dreadful wrath? *It conſumed them as ſtubble!* The Scripture only can furniſh us with ſuch images. Let us conſider this thought attentively. We ſhall ſee the wrath of God conſuming a prodigious army. Men, horſes, chariots, all are daſhed, conſumed, overwhelmed; how weak are theſe ſynonymous terms! All theſe are conſumed, that would be ſaying all; but the ſimile which follows finiſhes the picture; for the word *conſume* gives us the idea of an action that laſts ſome time; but, *as ſtubble*, ſhews an inſtantaneous action. How! ſo mighty an army as this conſumed like ſtubble! The reader ſhould conſider the force of theſe ideas.

But how was this effected? God, by a furious wind, aſſembled the waters, which ſwelled like two mountains in the midſt of the ſea. The children of Iſrael paſſed over it as on dry land; the Egyptians purſuing them into it were ſwallowed up by the waves. This is a plain and unembelliſhed relation; but how beautiful, how majeſtic, is the turn which is given to it in Scripture! I ſhould never have done, ſhould I examine them particularly. I am charmed with the whole ſong, but this paſſage tranſports me.

With the blaſt of thy noſtrils the waters were gathered together. The prophet ennobles the wind by making God himſelf the principle of it; and animates the waters, by repreſenting them ſuſceptible of fear. The better to paint the divine indignation, and its effects, he borrows the image of human wrath, whoſe lively tranſports are accompanied with a precipitated breathing, which cauſes a violent and impetuous blaſt. And when this wrath, in a powerful perſon, directs itſelf towards a fearful populace, it forces them, for their own ſecurity, to give way, and to fall in a tumultuous manner one upon the other. It is thus *with the blaſt of the Lord's noſtrils*, the frighted waters withdrew with impetuoſity from their uſual bed, and crouded ſuddenly one upon the other, in order to give way to this wrath; whereas the Egyptians, who came in the way of this wrath, were conſumed like ſtubble. We

often meet with such a description of divine wrath in the Scriptures: [*u*] *The sea saw it and fled. . . .* [*x*] *Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered, at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils. . . ,* [*y*] *There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled at it.* Are we to wonder, that a wrath like this should overthrow and swallow up every thing?

The depths were congealed in the heart of the sea. That is, the waters were bound up, and frozen like ice. *The depths* give us a much more dreadful idea than *waters. In the heart of the sea*; this circumstance is very emphatic; it fixes the imagination, and makes us conceive to ourselves mountains of solid waters in the centre of the liquid element.

The two verses that follow are inexpressibly beautiful. Instead of barely saying, as was before observed, that the Egyptians by their pursuing the Israelites, went into the sea; the prophet himself enters into the heart of those barbarians, puts himself in their place, assumes their passions, and makes them speak; not that they had really spoke, but because a thirst of vengeance, and a strong desire of pursuing the Israelites, was the language of their hearts, which Moses made them utter, in order to vary his narration, and to make it the more ardent.

The enemy said, instead of the *Egyptians said.* This singular, *the enemy*, how beautiful is every word!

I will pursue, I will overtake, I will divide the spoil, &c. We read, and perceive a palpable vengeance in these words, as we read them. The sacred penman has not put a conjunction to any of the six words which compose the Egyptian soldier's discourse, in order to give it the greater spirit, and to express more naturally the disposition of a man whose soul is fired, who discourses with himself, and does not mind connecting his words with conjunctions, his thoughts requiring freedom and liberty.

[*u*] Psal. cxiv. 3. [*x*] Ibid. xviii. 15. [*y*] Ibid. ver. 8.

Another

Another writer would have ſtopped here, but Moſes goes farther. *My luſt ſhall be ſatisfied upon them.* He might have ſaid, *I will divide the ſpoil, and I will fill myſelf with them.* But, *my luſt ſhall be ſatisfied upon them*, repreſents them as rioting on ſpoils, and ſwimming in joy.

I will draw my ſword, mine hand ſhall deſtroy them. The Vulgate runs thus, *I will unſheath my ſword, and my hand ſhall kill them.* The reflection that follows, which is very beautiful, ſuppoſes this ſenſe. They are no leſs affected with the pleaſure of killing their enemies, than that of plundering them. Let us ſee how he deſcribes this. He might have ſaid in one word, *I will kill them*; but this would have been too quick; he gives them the pleaſure of a long vengeance. I will unſheath my ſword. How great is this image! it even ſtrikes the reader's eye, *Mine hand ſhall deſtroy them.*

This *mine hand* is inexpreſſibly beautiful. This expreſſion repreſents a ſoldier who is ſure of victory: we ſee him looking about, moving up and down, and ſtretching forth his arm. My fear for the children of Iſrael makes me tremble. Great God! what wilt thou do to ſave them? A numberleſs multitude of barbarians are furiouſly haſtening to victory and vengeance. Can all the ſhafts of thy wrath check the impetuoſity of thine enemies? The Almighty blows, and the ſea has already ſurrounded them. *Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered them.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that this reflection is very ſtrong, eloquent, and well adapted to form the taſte, for which reaſon I thought the reader ought not to be deprived of it. But I muſt be obliged to confeſs, that the Hebrew text, inſtead of *Mine hand ſhall deſtroy them*, has it thus: *Mine hand ſhall again ſubject them to me*; *my hand ſhall triumph over them, my hand ſhall again put me in poſſeſſion* of thoſe fugitives. And indeed, this was the real motive which prompted the Egyptians to purſue the Iſraelites, as the Scriptures manifeſtly

manifeſtly declare. [z] *And it was told the king of Egypt, that the people fled; and the heart of Pharaoh and of his ſervants was turned againſt the people; and they ſaid, Why have we done this, that we have let Iſrael go from ſerving us?* Pharaoh therefore and his officers did not intend to kill and extirpate the Iſraelites, which would have been againſt their own intereſt; but they deſigned to force them ſword in hand to return into captivity, and work again in the public edifices.

Methinks there is alſo a great beauty in this expreſſion, *Mine hand ſhall again ſubject them to me.* The God of the Iſraelites had declared that he would free them from their Egyptian captivity, and deliver them from their hard ſervitude by the ſtrength of his arm. [a] *I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their bondage; and I will redeem you with a ſtretched-out arm.* He had often cauſed Pharaoh to be told, that he would ſtretch out his hand upon him, in his ſervants, in his fields, and his cattle; that he would ſhew him, that he was the maſter and the Lord, by ſtretching out his hand over all Egypt, and by reſcuing his people out of their captivity. [b] *The Egyptians ſhall know that I am the Lord, when I ſtretch forth mine hand upon Egypt, and bring out the children of Iſrael from among them.* Here the Egyptian, who already fancies himſelf victorious, inſults the God of the Hebrews. He ſeems to reproach him for the weakneſs of his arm, and the emptineſs of his threats; and ſays to himſelf in the drunkenneſs of inſolent joy, and in the tranſports of fooliſh confidence, Notwithſtanding what the God of *Iſrael* hath ſaid, *mine hand ſhall again ſubject them to me.*

Ver. 10. *Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered them, they ſank as lead in the mighty waters.*

Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered them. Could Moſes have poſſibly given us a nobler idea of

[z] Exod. xiv. 5. [a] Ibid. vi. 6. ix. 3, 15. [b] Ibid. vii. 5.

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the power of God? He only blows, and he at once overwhelms a numberleſs multitude of forces. This is the true ſublime. *Let there be light, and there was light.* Can any thing be greater?

The ſea covered them. How many ideas are included in four words! How eaſy are the words! But what a crowd of ideas! 'Tis to this paſſage we may apply what Pliny ſays of Timanthus the painter: *In omnibus ejus operibus plus intelligitur quam pingitur . . . ut oſtendat etiam quæ occultat.* "In all his works "more is underſtood than is painted, ſo that he ſhews "what he ſeems to hide."

Any other writer but Moſes would have let his fancy take wing. He would have given us a long detail, and a train of uſeleſs inſipid deſcriptions; he would have exhauſted his ſubject, or impoveriſhed it, and tired the reader by an empty pomp of words, and a barren abundance. But here God blows, the ſea obeys, it pours upon the Egyptians, they are all ſwallowed up. Was ever deſcription ſo full, ſo lively, ſo ſtrong, as this! There is no interval between God's blowing, and the dreadful miracle he performs in order to ſave his people. *Thou didſt blow with thy wind, the ſea covered them.*

They ſank as lead in the mighty waters. Reflect attentively on this laſt ſtroke, which aſſiſts the imagination, and finiſhes the picture.

Ver. 11. *Who is like unto thee, O Lord, amongſt the gods? Who is like thee, glorious in holineſs, fearful in praiſes, doing wonders?* 12. *Thou ſtretchedſt out thy right-hand, the earth ſwallowed them.*

To the wonderful relation above-mentioned, ſucceeds a wonderful expreſſion of praiſe. The greatneſs of this miracle required this vivacity of ſentiment and gratitude. And how, indeed, could it be poſſible for the writer not to be tranſported, and, as it were, out of himſelf, at the ſight of ſuch a wonder? He employs the interrogation, the compariſon, the repetition, all which figures are naturally expreſſive of admiration and rapture.

Glorious

Glorious in holineſs, &c. It is impoſſible to imitate the lively, conciſe ſtyle of the text, which is compoſed of three little members, detached from each other, without a copulative, and of which each conſiſts of two or three words ſhort enough, *Glorious in holineſs, fearful in praiſes, doing wonders.* It is difficult to render the ſenſe of it, how diffuſive ſoever the verſion may be made, which beſides makes it flat and languid, whereas the Hebrew is full of fire and vivacity.

Ver. 13. *Thou in thy mercy haſt led forth the people . . . thou haſt guided them in thy ſtrength unto thy holy habitation*, &c.

This, and the four following verſes, are a prophetic declaration of the glorious protection which God was to grant his people after having brought them out of Egypt. They abound every where with the ſtrongeſt and moſt affecting images. The reader does not know which to admire moſt; [c] God's tenderneſs for his people, whoſe guide and conductor he himſelf will be, by preſerving them during the whole journey like the apple of his eye, as he declares in another place: and carrying them on his ſhoulders, as an eagle bears her young ones: or his formidable power, which cauſing terror and dread to walk before it, freezes, with fear, all ſuch nations as ſhould preſume to oppoſe the paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea, and ſtrikes thoſe nations ſo, that they become motionleſs as a ſtone: or, laſtly, God's wonderful care, to ſettle them in a fixed and permanent manner in the promiſed land, or rather to plant them in it: *Thou ſhalt plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance*; an emphatic expreſſion, and which alone recalls all that the Scriptures obſerve in ſo many places, of the care which God had taken to plant this beloved vine; to water it, incloſe it with fences, and to multiply and extend its fruitful branches to a great diſtance.

[c] Deut. xxxii. 10, 11.

Ver.

Ver. 18, 19. *The Lord ſhall reign for ever and ever. For the horſe of Pharaoh went in with his chariots, and with his horſemen, into the ſea; and the Lord brought again the waters of the ſea upon them; but the children of Iſrael went on dry land in the midſt of the ſea.*

This concludes the whole ſong, by which Moſes promiſes God, in the name of all the people, to bear eternally in their minds the ſignal delivery which God had wrought in their favour.

Poſſibly this concluſion may appear too ſimple, when compared to the verſes which go before it. But methinks there is as much art in this ſimplicity as in the reſt of the ſong. And indeed, after Moſes had moved and raiſed the minds of the people by ſo many great expreſſions, and violent figures, it was proper, and agreeable to the rules of Rhetoric, to end his ſong with a plain ſimple expoſition, not only to unbend the minds of his hearers, but alſo to give them an idea, without employing figures, turns, or a pomp of words, of the greatneſs of this miracle, which God had juſt before wrought in their favour.

The delivery of the Jewiſh people out of Egypt is the moſt wonderful prodigy we read of in the Old Teſtament. God mentions it a thouſand times in the Scriptures; he ſpeaks of it, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, with a kind of complacency; he relates it as the moſt ſhining proof of the ſtrength of his all-powerful arm. And indeed it is not a ſingle prodigy, but a long ſeries of prodigies, each more wonderful than the other. It was fit that the beauty of a ſong, which was written to perpetuate the remembrance of this miracle, ſhould equal the greatneſs of the ſubject: and it was impoſſible but this ſhould do ſo, as the ſame God, who wrought thoſe wonders, dictated alſo the ſong.

But what beauty, grandeur, and magnificence, ſhould we diſcover in it, were we permitted to pierce the myſterious ſenſe which is concealed beneath the veil of this great event? For it muſt be allowed, that

this

this delivery out of Egypt covers and repreſents other deliverances. [*d*] The authority of St. Paul, that of all tradition, and the prayers of the church, oblige us to conſider it as a type of the freedom which the Chriſtian obtains by the waters of baptiſm, and his delivery from the yoke of the prince of this world. The Revelations mention another uſe of this delivery, by ſhewing thoſe, who have overcome the beaſt, holding the harps of God in their hands, and ſinging the ſong of Moſes the ſervant of God, and the ſong of the Lamb, ſaying, [*e*] *Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty*, &c.

Now as the Scriptures declare, that the wonders of the ſecond deliverance will ſurpaſs infinitely thoſe of the firſt, and will entirely blot out the remembrance of it; we may believe, that the beauties of the ſpiritual ſenſe of this ſong would quite eclipſe thoſe of the hiſtorical ſenſe.

But I am far from being able to diſplay theſe wonders, and indeed that does not ſuit the deſign of this work, wherein my view was to form the taſte of youth in matters of Eloquence. This explication of Moſes's ſong may conduce more to that end than any thing elſe, and I believed therefore, that it would be agreeable to the public. The author's modeſty had buried it, as it were, in obſcurity; and therefore the reader will not be diſpleaſed, to find it publiſhed by his ſcholar, as a teſtimony of the gratitude he owes to ſo excellant a maſter. He not only bore this character with regard to me, but likewiſe that of a father, having always loved me as a ſon. Mr. Herſan took the utmoſt care of me whilſt I was under his tuition, deſigning me, even at that time, for his ſucceſſor; and indeed I was ſo in the ſecond claſs, in Rhetoric, and in the Royal College. I may aſſert without flattery, that no man was ever more capable than this gentleman, to point out and illuſtrate the beautiful paſſages in authors, or to raiſe an emula-

[*d*] 1 Cor. xi. 10. [*e*] Rev. xv. 3.

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tion in youth. The funeral oration of the chancellor Le Tellier, which Mr. Herſan delivered in the Sorbonne, and which is the only piece of his in proſe which he ſuffered to be printed, is ſufficient to ſhew the exquiſite delicacy of his taſte: and his verſes which are publiſhed may be conſidered as ſo many ſtandards in their kind. But then he was much more valuable for his virtues, than for his genius. Goodneſs, ſimplicity, [*f*] modeſty, diſintereſtedneſs, a contempt for riches, a generoſity carried almoſt to exceſs, ſuch were his qualities. He made no other advantage of the entire confidence which a powerful [*g*] miniſter repoſed in him, than to do good to others. As ſoon as I was choſen principal of the college of Beauvais, he devoted for my ſake, and from his love to the public, two thouſand crowns, to be laid out in ſuch repairs and embelliſhments as were wanting there. But the laſt years of his life, though ſpent in obſcurity and retirement, have obſcured all the reſt. He withdrew to Compeigne his native place. There, ſecluded from company, wholly employed in the ſtudy of the Scriptures, which had always been his delight; meditating perpetually on [*b*] death and eternity, he devoted himſelf entirely to the ſervice of the poor children of the city. He built a ſchool for their uſe, and it is perhaps the fineſt in the kingdom, and left a ſtipend for a maſter. He himſelf taught them very often, and generally had ſome of them at his table. He clothed ſeveral of them; diſtributed rewards from time to time among them, in order to encourage them to ſtudy; and his greateſt conſolation was, to think, that after his death, thoſe children would offer up the ſame prayer for him, that the famous Gerſon, when he condeſcended to teach ſchool in Lyons, had deſired, by his laſt will, of thoſe he had taught: *My*

[*f*] He would never ſuffer himſelf to be elected rector (principal) of the univerſity.

[*g*] Mr. de Louvois.

[*b*] He publiſhed a collection of the extracts he had made on this ſubject, intitled, *Edifying Meditations upon Death, taken from the words of Scripture, and of the fathers.*

God,

God, my Creator, have pity on your poor ſervant John Gerſon. He had the happineſs to die poor, in ſome meaſure, in the midſt of the poor, having ſcarce enough left for a laſt foundation of the *ſiſters of charity* for the inſtruction of girls, and to take care of the ſick. I hope the reader will pardon this digreſſion, ſince the ſole motive of it is, to expreſs my gratitude for a maſter to whom I have ſo many obligations.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

OF HISTORY.

The INTRODUCTION.

IT is not without reaſon that [*a*] Hiſtory has always been conſidered as the light of ages, the depoſitary of events, the faithful evidence of truth, the ſource of prudence and good counſel, and the rule of conduct and manners. [*b*] Confined without it to the bounds of the age and country wherein we live, and ſhut up within the narrow circle of ſuch branches of knowledge as are peculiar to us, and the limits of our own private reflections, we continue in a kind of infancy, which leaves us ſtrangers to the reſt of the world, and profoundly ignorant of all that has preceded, or even now ſurrounds us. [*c*] What is the ſmall number of years that make up the longeſt life, or what the extent of country which we are able to poſſeſs or travel over, but an imperceptible point in compariſon of the vaſt regions of the univerſe, and the long ſeries of ages, which have ſucceeded one another ſince the creation of the world? And yet all we are capable of knowing muſt be limited to this imperceptible point, unleſs we call in the ſtudy of Hiſtory to our aſſiſtance, which opens to us every age

[*a*] Hiſtoria teſtis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magiſtra vitæ, nuncia vetuſtatis. Cic lib. 2. de Orat. n. 36.

[*b*] Neſcire quid antea quam natus ſis accederit, id eſt ſemper eſſe puerum. Cic. in Orat. n. 120.

[*c*] Terram hanc, cum populis urbibuſque . . . puncti loco ponimus, ad univerſa referentes: imporem portionem ætas noſtra quam puncti habet, ſi tempori comparetur omni. Senec. de conſol. ad Marciam. cap. 20.

Nullum ſeculum magnis ingeniis cluſum eſt, nullum non cogitationi pervium. Id.

Si magnitudine animi egredi humanæ imbecillitatis anguſtias libet, multum per quod ſpatiemur temporis eſt. . . Licet in conſortium omnis ævi pariter incedere. Id. de brev. vitæ, c. 14.

and every country, keeps up a correſpondence betwixt us and the great men of antiquity, ſets all their actions, all their atchievements, virtues and faults before our eyes; and by the prudent reflections it either preſents, or gives us an opportunity of making, ſoon teaches us to be wiſe before our time, and in a manner far ſuperior to all the leſſons of the greateſt maſters.

Hiſtory may properly be called the common ſchool of mankind, equally open and uſeful both to great and ſmall, to princes and ſubjects, and ſtill more neceſſary to princes and great men, than to all others. For how can awful truth approach them amidſt the crowd of flatterers, which furround them on all ſides, and are continually commending and admiring them, or in other words corrupting and poiſoning their hearts and underſtandings; how, I ſay, can truth make her feeble voice be heard amidſt ſuch tumult and confuſion? How venture to lay before them the duties and ſlaveries of royalty? How ſhew them wherein their true glory conſiſts, and repreſent to them, that if they will look back to the original of their inſtitution, they may clearly find [*d*] they were made for the people, and not the people for them? How put them in mind of their faults, make them apprehend the juſt judgment of poſterity, and diſperſe the thick clouds, which the vain phantom of their greatneſs, and the inebriation of their fortune, have formed around them?

Theſe ſervices, which are ſo neceſſary and important, can be rendered them only by the aſſiſtance of Hiſtory, which alone has the power of ſpeaking freely to them, and the right of paſſing an abſolute judgment upon the actions of princes, no leſs than fame, which [*e*] Seneca calls *liberrimam principum judicem*, "the moſt free judge of princes." Their abilities may be extolled, their wit and valour admired, and their ex-

[*d*] Aſſiduis bonitatis argumentis probavit, non rempublicam ſuam eſſe, ſed ſe reipublicæ. Senec. de clem. lib. 1. cap. 19.

[*e*] Sen. de conſol. ad Marciam, cap. 4.

ploits

ploits and conquests boasted of; but if all these have no foundation in truth and justice, History will tacitly pass sentence upon them under borrowed names. The greatest part of the most famous conquerors they will find treated as public calamities, the enemies of mankind, and [*f*] the robbers of nations, who hurried on by a restless and blind ambition, carry desolation from country to country, [*g*] and like an inundation, or a fire, ravage all that they meet in their way.

They will see a Caligula, a Nero, and a Domitian, who were praised to excess during their lives, become the horror and execration of mankind after their deaths; whereas Titus, Trajan, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius, are still looked upon as the delights of the world, for having made use of their power only to do good. Thus we may say, that History is to them a tribunal raised in their life-time, like that which was formerly erected amongst the Egyptians, where princes, like private men, were tried and condemned after their death, and that hence they may learn beforehand, the sentence which will for ever be passed upon their reputation. 'Tis History, in fine, [*h*] which fixes the seal of immortality upon actions truly great, and sets a mark of infamy on vices, which no after-age can ever obliterate. 'Tis by History that mistaken merit, and oppressed virtue, appeal to the uncorruptible tribunal of posterity, which renders them the justice their own age has sometimes refused them, and without respect of persons and the fear of a power, which subsists no more, condemns the unjust abuse of authority with inexorable rigour.

There is no age or condition, which may not derive the same advantages from History; and what I have said of princes and conquerors, comprehends

[*f*] Jer. iv. 7.

[*g*] Philippi ut Alexandri latrocinia cæterorumque, qui exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quam inundatio, qua planum omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio, qua magna pars animantium exaruit. Senec. lib. 3. Nat. Quæst. in Præfat.

[*h*] Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate & infamia metus sit. Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. cap. 65.

alſo in ſome meaſure all perſons in power, miniſters of ſtate, generals of armies, officers, magiſtrates, governors of provinces, prelates, eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors both ſecular and regular, fathers and mothers, maſters and miſtreſſes; in a word, whoever have authority over others. For ſuch perſons have ſometimes more haughtineſs, pride and humour in a very limited ſtation than kings in theirs, and carry their deſpotic diſpoſition and arbitrary power to a greater length. Hiſtory therefore is of great advantage, to lay down uſeful leſſons to them all, and preſent them with a faithful mirror of their duties and obligations by an unſuſpected hand, and thereby make them ſenſible, that they are all conſtituted for the ſake of their inferiors, and not their inferiors for them.

Thus Hiſtory, when it is well taught, becomes a ſchool of morality for all mankind. It condemns vice, throws off the maſk from falſe virtues, lays open popular errors and prejudices, diſpels the deluſive charms of riches, and all the vain pomp which dazzles the imagination, and ſhews by a thouſand examples, that are more availing than all reaſonings whatſoever, that nothing is great and commendable but honour and probity. From the eſteem and admiration, which the moſt corrupt cannot refuſe to the great and good actions of which Hiſtory lays before them, it confirms the great truth, that virtue is man's real good, and alone renders him truly great and valuable. [*i*] This virtue we are taught by Hiſtory to revere, and to diſcern its beauty and brightneſs through the veils of poverty, adverſity, and obſcurity, and ſometimes alſo of diſgrace and infamy; and on the other hand it inſpires us with the contempt

[*i*] Si quemadmodum viſus oculorum quibuſdam medicamentis acui ſolet & repurgari, ſic & nos acrem animi liberare impedimentis voluerimus, poterimus perſpicere virtutem, etiam obrutam corpore, etiam paupertate oppoſita, & humilitate, & infamia objacentibus: cernemus, inquam, pulchritudinem illam, quamvis ſordido obtectam. Rurſus æquæ militiam & ærumnoſi animi veternum perſpiciemus, quamvis multus circa divitiarum radiantium ſplendor impediat, & intuentem hinc honorum illinc magnatum poteſtatum, falſa lux verberet. Senec. Ep. 115.

and

and horror of vice, though clothed in purple, surrounded with splendor, and placed on a throne.

But to confine myself to my own part of the subject, I look upon History as the first master to be given to children, equally serviceable to entertain and instruct them, to form their hearts and understandings, and to enrich their memories with facts as agreeable as useful. [k] It may likewise be of great service, by means of the pleasure inseparable from it, towards exciting the curiosity of that age, which is ever desirous of being informed, and inspiring a taste for study. Thus in point of education, it is a fundamental principle, and constantly observed in all times, that the study of History should precede all the rest, and prepare the way for them. Plutarch tells us, that Cato the elder, the famous censor, whose name and virtue brought so much honour to the Roman commonwealth, took upon himself a peculiar care in the education of his son, without trusting to the care of masters, and drew up a collection of historical facts expressly for his use, and wrote them over in large characters with his own hands, that the child, he said, might be able from his infancy, without going from home, to become acquainted with the great men of his own country, and form himself upon those ancient models of probity and virtue.

It is by no means necessary that I should dwell any longer upon proving the usefulness of History; 'tis a point generally enough agreed on, and which few people call in question. 'Tis of most concern to know what is necessary to be observed in order to render the study of it useful, and reaping the benefits to be expected from it. And this I shall now attempt to lay down.

That I may throw what I have to say upon History into some order, I shall divide this discourse into three

[k] Fatendum in ipsis rebus, quæ discuntur & cognoscuntur invitamenta inesse, quibus ad discendum cognoscendumque moveamur. Cic. lib. 5. de fin. bon. & mal. n. 2.

parts. The firſt ſhall treat of the taſte for ſolid glory and real greatneſs, and ſerve to caution youth againſt the falſe ideas which the ſtudy of Hiſtory itſelf may raiſe in them upon this ſubject. The ſecond ſhall be upon ſacred Hiſtory. The third upon profane. And in the laſt I ſhall ſay ſomething of fable, of the ſtudy of the Greek and Roman antiquities, the authors from whence we are to borrow our knowledge of Hiſtory, and the order wherein they are to be read.

I make no mention here of the Hiſtory of France, as it is but natural that ancient Hiſtory ſhould precede the modern; and I ſcarce think it poſſible for boys to find time whilſt they are at ſchool, to apply themſelves to that of France. But I am far from looking upon it as an indifferent ſtudy, and I am concerned to ſee it ſo much neglected as it is by abundance of perſons, to whom it might notwithſtanding be very uſeful, not to ſay neceſſary. In talking thus, I firſt of all blame myſelf; for I own I have not applied myſelf to it in the manner it deſerves; and I am aſhamed to be in ſome meaſure a ſtranger in my own country, after having travelled through ſo many others. And yet our Hiſtory ſupplies us with great examples of virtue, and abundance of beautiful actions, which remain for the moſt part buried in obſcurity, either through the badneſs of our hiſtorians [/], who have wanted the talents for treating them according to their dignity, like the Greeks and Romans; or in conſequence of a bad taſte, which inclines to admire highly what paſſes at a diſtance from our own age and country, whilſt we remain cold and indifferent to ſuch actions as paſs before our eyes and in the age we live. But though we have not time to teach youth the Hiſtory of France, we ought at leaſt to cultivate a taſte in them for it, by quoting ſuch paſſages out of it from time to time, as may induce them to a farther application to it, when they ſhall have leiſure.

[/] Quia provenere ibi magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem (veterum) facta pro maximis celebrantur. Salluſt. in bel. Catil.

PART

PART I.

Of the Taste *for* solid Glory *and* real Greatness.

ALL the world agrees, that one of the firſt cares in training up youth to the ſtudy of polite learning, is previouſly to lay down ſuch rules and principles of good taſte, as may ſerve to guide and direct them in the reading of authors. It is the more neceſſary to give them this aſſiſtance in the caſe of hiſtory, which may be regarded as the ſtudy of morality and virtue; as it is of far more importance to paſs a right judgment upon virtue than eloquence, and leſs ſhameful and dangerous to be miſtaken in the rules of diſcourſe, than in thoſe of morality.

Our age, and our nation in particular, ſtand in need of being undeceived concerning a great number of miſtakes and falſe prejudices, which daily prevail more and more, upon the points of poverty and riches; modeſty and preſumption; ſimplicity of buildings and furniture; coſtlineſs and magnificence; frugality and delicacy in diet; in a word, upon almoſt every thing that is the object either of the contempt or admiration of mankind. In matters of this nature the [*m*] public taſte becomes a rule to youth. They look upon that as valuable, which they ſee every body ſet a value upon; and are guided, not by reaſon, but cuſtom [*n*]. One ſingle bad example ſhall ſuffice to corrupt the minds of youth, which are ſuſceptible of every impreſſion: What then have we

[*m*] Recti apud nos locum tenet error, ubi publicus factus eſt. Sen. Ep. 123.

Nulla res nos majoribus malis implicat, quam quod ad rumorem componimur; optima rati ea, quæ magno aſſenſu recepta ſunt . . . nec ad rationem, ſed ad ſimilitudinem vivimus. Id. lib. de vit. beat. cap. 1.

[*n*] Unum exemplum, aut luxuriæ, aut avaritiæ, multum mali facit . . . quid tu accidere his moribus credis, in quos publice factus eſt impetus? . . . adeo nemo noſtrum ferre impetum vitiorum tam magno comitatu venientium poteſt. Id. Ep. 7.

Deſinit eſſe remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores ſunt. Id. Ep. 39.

not to apprehend for them, at a time when every kind of vice is the common practice, and [o] the groſſeſt paſſions perpetually buſy in extinguiſhing all ſentiments of honour and probity?

How neceſſary then is this ſcience to them [p], whoſe principal effect is to remove the falſe prejudices, which ſeduce, becauſe they pleaſe us; whoſe office is to cure, and deliver us from the popular errors we have ſucked in with our milk; to teach us how to diſcern betwixt true and falſe, good and evil, ſolid greatneſs and vain oſtentation; [q] and to prevent the contagion of bad examples and vicious cuſtoms from infecting the minds of youth, and ſtifling in them the happy ſeeds of virtue and probity, which we obſerve nature to have implanted there [r]? It is in this ſcience, which conſiſts in judging of things, not by common opinion, but by truth, not by a ſpecious outſide, but by real merit, that Socrates has placed all the wiſdom of man.

I have therefore thought it my duty to begin this treatiſe of hiſtory with laying down principles and rules how to paſs a ſound judgment upon great and good actions; to diſcern wherein ſolid Glory and real Greatneſs conſiſt; and to diſtinguiſh expreſsly what is worthy of eſteem and admiration from what merits only indifference or contempt. Without theſe rules and precautions, young perſons, who have no other guides than their own inclinations, or the popular opinions, may form themſelves upon models entirely agreeable to theſe falſe ideas, and give into the paſſions and vices of thoſe, whoſe actions make a figure

[o] Certatur ingenti quodam nequitiæ certamine: major quotidie peccandi cupiditas, minor verecundiæ eſt. Sen. lib. 2. de Ira, c. 8.

[p] Sapientia animi magiſtra eſt. . . Quæ ſint mala, quæ videantur oſtendit. Vanitatem exuit mentibus, dat magnitudinem ſolidam; nec ignorari ſinit, inter magna quid interſit & tumida. Ep. 90.

Inducenda eſt in occupatum locum virtus, quæ mendacia contra verum placentia exſtirpet; quæ nos à populo, cui nimis credimus, ſeparet, ac ſinceris opinionibus reddat. Ep. 94.

[q] Tanta eſt corruptela malæ conſuetudinis, ut ab ea tanquam igniculi extinguantur à natura dati, exorianturque & confirmentur vitia contraria. Cic. lib. 1. de leg. n. 33.

[r] Socrates hanc ſummam dixit eſſe ſapientiam, bona malaque diſtinguere. Sen. Ep. 71.

in

in hiſtory indeed, but are not always virtuous or eſtimable.

Properly ſpeaking, the goſpel only and the word of God can preſcribe ſure and infallible rules to direct us in judging rightly of all things; and it ſeems my duty to borrow ſolely from ſo rich a ſource the inſtructions I undertake to give youth on ſo important a ſubject. But to make them the better comprehend, how blameable the errors are which I oppoſe, and how contrary even to right reaſon, I ſhall extract my principles only from heathen writers, who will teach us, that what renders a man truly great and worthy of admiration, is neither riches, magnificent buildings, coſtly habits or ſumptuous furniture, neither a luxurious table, great employments or high birth, neither reputation, famous exploits, ſuch as victories and conqueſts, nor even the moſt valuable endowments of the mind [s]; but that a man owes his real worth to the heart, and that the more truly great and generous he is in that reſpect, the more he will deſpiſe what ſeems great in the eyes of the reſt of mankind. At firſt my examples were taken only from ancient hiſtory; but certain perſons of ability and underſtanding have ſince adviſed me to add others from modern hiſtory, and eſpecially that of France, and have been pleaſed to ſupply me with ſeveral themſelves, for which I take this opportunity of making my acknowledgments.

But though I have taken all my principles, and moſt of my examples, from heathen writers, and have avoided uſing thoſe of the many illuſtrious ſaints Chriſtianity might ſupply for all ſtates and conditions, it does not follow that my deſign has been only to recommend virtues purely pagan. One may conſider things in an human way, without conſidering the laſt end and prime inducements for purſuing them. And thus by degrees we may riſe to a purer and more

[s] Cogita in te, præter animum, nihil eſſe mirabile, cui magno nihil magnum eſt. Sen. Ep. 8.
Hoc nos doce, beatum eſſe illum, qui omne bonum in animo eſt . . . illum erectum, & excelſum, & mirabilia calcantem. Id. Ep. 45.

per-

perfect virtue, and by becoming attentive and obedient to reason, be prepared to submit to religion and faith, which command the same duties, but upon higher motives, and with the promise of far more glorious rewards.

Lastly, I desire the reader would remember, that this work is not designed for the learned, who are already well versed in history, and may think the great number of facts I have quoted tedious, as containing nothing new to them [*t*]; but that my design is principally to instruct young students, who may often have scarce any other notion of history, than what they find in this; which has obliged me to be somewhat more prolix, to produce a greater number of examples, and to add more reflections than otherwise I should have done.

I. RICHES. POVERTY.

[*u*] As Riches purchase whatever is most esteemed and sought after in life, such as honours, employments, lands, houses, ornaments, luxurious boards, and all the train of vulgar pleasures; it is by no means surprising that these should be more esteemed and sought after than all the rest. This notion, too natural to children in itself, is cherished and supported in them by every thing they see and hear. All tends to resound the praises of Riches. Gold and silver are the only or the principal object of the admiration of mankind, of their desires and labours. They are regarded as alone capable of making life easy and happy, and Poverty on the other hand as the cause of shame and misfortune.

[*t*] Nos institutionem professi, non solum scientibus ista, sed etiam discentibus tradimus: ideoque paulo pluribus verbis debet haberi venia. Quint. lib. 11. cap. 1.

[*u*] Hæc ipsa res tot magistratus, tot judices detinet, quæ magistratus & judices facit, pecunia: quæ ex quo in honore esse cœpit, verus rerum honor cecidit.... Admirationem nobis parentes auri argentique fecerunt: & teneris infusa cupiditas altius sedit, crevitque nobiscum. Deinde totus populus, in alia discors, in hoc convenit: hoc suspiciunt, hoc suis optant... Denique eo mores redacti sunt, ut pauperras maledicto probroque sit, contempta divitibus, invisa pauperibus. Sen. Ep. 115.

[*x*] And

[x] And yet antiquity (to our great ſurpriſe) gives us an inſtance of a whole nation exclaiming againſt ſuch ſentiments. Euripides had put an high encomium of Riches into the mouth of Bellerophon, which he concluded with theſe words, *Riches are the ſovereign happineſs of mankind, and it is with reaſon they excite the admiration of gods and men.* Theſe laſt lines provoked the whole people of Athens. They roſe up with one common voice againſt the poet, and would have immediately baniſhed him the city, if he had not beſought them to ſtay till the play was done, and they ſhould ſee this idolater of Riches come to a miſerable end. A bad, a wretched excuſe! The impreſſion which ſuch maxims make upon the imagination, is too ſtrong and lively to wait for the ſlow remedies, which an author may bring at the concluſion of his performance.

The people of Rome were no leſs noble in their ſentiments. Their ambition was to gain a great deal of glory and little wealth. Every one ſought, [y] ſays an hiſtorian, not to enrich themſelves, but their country; and they rather choſe to be poor in a rich commonwealth, than to be rich themſelves, whilſt the commonwealth was poor. [z] The Camilli, the Fabricii, and the Curii, were formed, we know, in the ſchool and boſom of Poverty, and it was uſual with their greateſt men not to leave wherewithal to defray the expences of their funerals, or to portion out their daughters.

Such alſo was the diſpoſition of our ancient magiſtrates, and we read with pleaſure in the hiſtory of the premier preſidents of the univerſity of Paris, that the famous "*John de la Vacquerie* died richer in honours "and reputation, than in the goods of fortune. For "having left behind him three daughters, the heir-"eſſes only of his virtues, his maſter king Lewis "XI. in acknowledgment of his ſervices, took care

[x] Senec. Epiſt. 115.

[y] Patriæ rem unuſquiſque, non ſuam, augere properabat, pauperque in divite, quàm dives in paupere imperio verſari malebat. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 4.

[z] Horat. Od. xii. lib. 1.

"to

" to marry them according to their condition, and " paid their fortunes out of his own treaſury."

An expreſſion of the emperor Valerian's ſhews us how much Poverty was eſteemed even in the lower age of the empire. He had nominated Aurelian, who was afterwards emperor, to the conſulſhip; and as he was poor he ordered the keeper of his treaſury to ſupply him with all the money he ſhould want for the expences he was to be at upon his entrance into that office, and wrote to him in theſe terms, [*a*] " You ſhall give Aurelian, whom I have nominated " conſul, whatever ſhall be neceſſary to defray the " charges of the cuſtomary ſhews. He deſerves this " aſſiſtance *by reaſon of his Poverty, which renders him* " *truly great, and ranks him above all others.*"

Thus we ſee the ſentiments of the truly generous and noble, in all ages and nations. [*b*] Thoſe great men were of opinion, that nothing was a ſurer mark of a little abject ſpirit than the love of Riches, and nothing on the other hand more great and generous than to deſpiſe them; and thought it the higheſt pitch of virtue to bear up nobly under Poverty, and to look upon it as an advantage, rather than a misfortune. According to them the ſecond degree of virtue conſiſted in making a good uſe of Riches, when they poſſeſſed them; and they judged it moſt agreeable to the end for which they were deſigned, and moſt likely to draw upon the rich the eſteem and love of mankind, to make them ſubſervient to the good of the ſociety. In a word, [*c*] they counted nothing really their own, but what they had given away.

Cimon the Athenian general, thought his poſſeſſions were given him by fortune for no other end than

[*a*] Aureliano, cui conſulatum detulimus, ob paupertatem, qua ille magnus eſt, cæteris major, dabis ob editionem Circenſium, &c. Vopiſc. in vita Imper. Aurel.

[*b*] Nihil eſt tam anguſti animi tamque parvi, quàm amare divitias: nihil honeſtius magnificentiuſque quàm pecuniam contemnere, ſi non habeas; ſi habeas, ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque convertere. Cic. lib. 1. Offic. n, 68.

[*c*] Nihil magis poſſidere me credam, quàm bene donata. Senec. de vita beat. cap. 20.

Hoc habeo, quodcumque dedi. Lib. 6. de benef. cap. 3.

to

to be distributed among his fellow citizens, to clothe some, and to relieve the wants of others. What Philopemen gained from the enemy, he bestowed in supplying such of the citizens with arms and horses, as stood in need of them, and in ransoming such of them as had been made prisoners of war. Aratus, general of the Achæans, made himself universally beloved, and saved his country, by applying the presents he received from the kings, in appeasing the divisions which prevailed among his countrymen, in paying the debts of some, assisting others in their necessities, and redeeming captives.

To give but one single instance among the Romans, Pliny the younger disburses considerable sums for the service of his friends. [*d*] He forgives one person all he owes him. [*e*] He pays the debts of another, which he had contracted for just reasons. [*f*] He increases the portion of another's daughter, that she might keep up to the dignity of the person she was about to marry. [*g*] He supplies another with sums to make him a Roman knight. [*h*] To gratify another, he sells him a piece of land below its value. [*i*] He gives another wherewithal to return into his own country, and end his days there in quiet. [*k*] He makes himself easy in the differences of his family, and voluntarily gives up his own right. [*l*] He bestows upon his nurse a piece of ground, big enough for her subsistance. [*m*] He presents his country with a library, and a revenue sufficient to maintain it. [*n*] He settles salaries upon professors for the instruction of youth. [*o*] He erects a school for the education of orphans and poor children, of which there are some footsteps remaining to this day. And all this he does with a moderate fortune. But his frugality, as he declares himself, was a rich fund,

[*d*] Lib. 2. Ep. 4.
[*e*] Lib. 3. Ep. 11.
[*f*] Lib. 6. Ep. 32.
[*g*] Lib. 1. Ep. 19.
[*h*] Lib. 7. Ep. 11, & 14.
[*i*] The poet Mart. Lib. 3. Ep. 21.
[*k*] Lib. 4. Ep. 10. Lib. 8. Ep. 3. Lib. 5. Ep. 7.
[*l*] Lib. 6. Ep. 3.
[*m*] Lib. 1. Ep. 8.
[*n*] Lib. 4. Ep. 13.
[*o*] Lib. 1. Ep. 8.

which

which ſupplied whatever was wanting to his revenue, and enabled him to beſtow with ſuch liberality, as is aſtoniſhing in a private man. [p] *Quod ceſſat ex reditu, frugalitate ſuppletur; ex qua, velut ex fonte, liberalitas noſtra decurrit.*

Let any one aſk the boys what they think of ſuch an example, after having compared this noble and amiable uſe of Riches with the behaviour of ſuch unnatural perſons, who live as if they were born only for themſelves, who ſet no other value on Riches than as the means to indulge their paſſions, to ſupport their luxury, and gratify their love of pleaſures, a vain oſtentation, or a reſtleſs curioſity; who are ſerviceable neither to their relations, their friends, nor their moſt ancient and faithful domeſtics; and who think themſelves under no obligation by the ties of blood, friendſhip, gratitude, merit, or humanity, nor even to their country.

[q] When M. de Turenne undertook the command of the army in Germany, he found the troops in ſo bad a condition, that he ſold his own plate to clothe the ſoldiers, and mount the horſe, which he did more than once. Though his eſtate amounted to no more than forty [r] thouſand livres a year, he never would accept of the conſiderable ſums his friends offered him, nor take up any thing on truſt from the tradeſmen, for fear, he ſaid, that if he fell, they ſhould loſe a good part of it. And I know that all the workmen, employed about his houſe, were ordered to bring in their bills before he ſet out for the campaign, and were regularly paid.

[s] Whilſt he commanded in Germany, a neutral town, which thought the king's army was marching towards them, offered this general an hundred thouſand crowns to engage him to take another rout, and make amends for a day or two's march, which it

[p] Lib. 2. Ep. 4.

[q] Hommes Illuſtres de M. Perrault.

[r] When he died, he had not fifteen hundred livres by him in ready money.

[s] Lettres de Bourſault.

might

might coſt the army more. *I cannot in conſcience*, anſwered M. Turenne, *accept of this ſum, for I had no intention to paſs by the town.*

The action of the great Scipio in Spain, when he added to the portion of a young captive princeſs the ranſom her parents had brought to redeem her, gained him no leſs honour than the moſt famous of his conqueſts. A like action of the chevalier Bayard merits no leſs praiſe. [*t*] When Breſſe was taken by ſtorm from the Venetians, he ſaved a houſe from plunder, whither he had retired to have a dangerous wound dreſt, which he had received in the ſiege, and ſecured the miſtreſs of the family, and her two daughters, who were hid in it. At his departure the lady, as a mark of her gratitude, offered him a caſket containing two thouſand five hundred ducats, which he obſtinately refuſed. But obſerving that his refuſal was very diſpleaſing to her, and not caring to leave her diſſatisfied, he conſented to accept of her preſent, and calling to him the two young ladies to take his leave of them, he preſented each of them with a thouſand ducats to be added to their portion, and left the remaining five-hundred to be diſtributed among the inhabitants that had been plundered.

But that we may have the better notion of the nobleneſs and greatneſs of a diſintereſted mind, let us conſider it, not in generals and princes, whoſe glory and power may ſeem perhaps to heighten the luſtre of this virtue, but in perſons of a lower rank, who have nothing about them but the virtue itſelf to raiſe our admiration. A poor man, who was door-keeper to a boarding houſe in Milan, found a purſe with two hundred crowns in it. The man who had loſt it, informed by a public advertiſement, came to the houſe, and giving good proof that the purſe belonged to him, the door-keeper reſtored it to him. The owner full of joy and gratitude, offered his benefactor twenty crowns, which the other abſolutely refuſed. He then

[*t*] Vie du Chev. Bayard.

came

came down to ten, and afterwards to five. But finding him ſtill inexorable, he throws his purſe upon the ground, and in an angry tone, *I have loſt nothing*, ſays he, *nothing at all, if you thus refuſe to accept of any thing*. The door-keeper then accepted of five crowns, which he immediately diſtributed among the poor.

I have heard a lieutenant general in the king's army ſay, that upon a certain occaſion, when the ſoldiers were buſy in ſtripping the bodies of the ſlain, the commanding officer, to encourage them to purſue the enemy, and at the ſame time to make amends for their loſs, threw down among them forty or fifty piſtoles, which he had in his pocket. The greateſt part of them refuſed to ſhare in this liberality, and thought it would diſhonour them to want preſents for doing their duty, and ſerving their king. The late M. de Louvois, being informed of this action, highly commended them, gave each of them a ſum of money in ſight of the army, and took care to advance them as occaſion offered.

Whoever reads ſuch ſtories as theſe cannot but be ſenſible of the impreſſion they make upon his heart. Let us then compare ſo noble and generous a conduct with the low ſentiments of abundance of perſons, who ſeem to regard and value nothing in the great places they enjoy, but the opportunity to enrich themſelves with eaſe, and we ſhall not ſcruple to conclude with Tully, that there is no vice ſo infamous, eſpecially in perſons of rank and office, as avarice. [*u*] *Nullum igitur vitium tetrius quam avaritia, præſertim in principibus, & rempublicam gubernantibus. Habere enim quæſtui rempublicam, non modo turpe eſt, ſed ſceleratum etiam & nefarium.*

This paſſion for money is a fault extremely diſhonourable to men of learning, as on the other hand nothing gains them a greater reputation, than the looking upon Riches with indifference.

[*u*] Lib. 2. Offic. n. 77.

Seneca,

Seneca, after such frequent and high encomiums on poverty, [x] had great reason to reproach himself for his extravagant attachment to wealth, and those numberless acquisitions he made of lands, gardens, and magnificent buildings, not scrupling the practice of the most enormous usury to attain them, and bringing a disgrace entirely, if not upon philosophy, at least upon the philosopher.

All that he has said in one of his [y] discourses in defence of his conduct, will never convince us that he had not a strong inclination for Riches, and that he gave them entrance only into his house, and not into his heart. *Sapiens non amat divitias, sed mavult; non in animum illas sed in domum recipit.*

I am concerned [z] that Amiot, who was so great an honour to learning in his age, should have sullied his glory in some measure by this rust of avarice. He was a poor boy, and as is supposed the son of a butcher, and raised himself by his merit. He was made bishop of Auxerre, and grand almoner of France. Charles the IXth, whom he instructed and brought up, always called him his master, and sometimes diverting himself with him, would jestingly reproach him with his avarice. One day as Amiot was asking for a rich benefice, *Ah! master*, says the king, *you used to say, that if you had but a thousand crowns a year, you should be satisfied. I believe you have that, and more.* *Sir*, answered he, *my appetite increases with my food.* He constantly obtained what he asked for; and died worth above two hundred thousand crowns.

There is one now in the university, whom I dare not venture to name, because he is still living, but I cannot pass over in silence his noble and disinterested disposition. After he had taught philosophy in the college of Beauvais with great reputation, where he

[x] Ubi est (*addressing himself to Nero*) animus ille modicis contentus? Tales hortos instruit, & per hæc suburbana incedit, & tantis agrorum spatiis, tam lato fœnore exuberat? Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 53.

[y] L. de Vit. Beat. c. 17, 52.

[z] Dict. de Bayle.

had been brought up as a ſcholar of the houſe, and was afterwards elected principal; at the very time he was poſſeſſed of the higheſt dignity in the univerſity, he was called to court to aſſiſt in the education of the preſent king of Spain, and has ſince had the honour of attending upon the young monarch, now on the throne. The two courts of France and Spain have ſtrove to expreſs their acknowledgments by offering him benefices and penſions, which he has always conſtantly refuſed, alledging for a reaſon, that his ſalary was more than ſufficient to ſupport him according to his ſtation, in which his different employments, how diſtinguiſhed ſoever, have never cauſed him to make the leaſt alteration.

II. BUILDINGS.

We ſeldom form a right judgment of objects that have a ſplendid outſide, and ſtrike the view by their external luſtre. There are few perſons, who hear of the famous pyramids of Egypt, without being tranſported with admiration, and extolling the grandeur and magnificence of the princes who raiſed them. And yet I queſtion whether this admiration be well grounded, or thoſe enormous piles of Building, which coſt ſuch immenſe ſums, and occaſioned the loſs of ſo many men who were employed about them, and which were only intended for pomp and oſtentation, [a] and not for any ſolid uſe; I queſtion, I ſay, whether ſuch Buildings deſerve to be ſpoke of with ſo much applauſe.

True greatneſs does not conſiſt in deſiring or doing what a diſordered imagination, or a popular error, repreſent as great and magnificent. It does not conſiſt in attempting difficult things, purely becauſe they are difficult. Nor is it affected with what ſeems wonderful, or actuated by the pleaſure of ſurmounting impoſſibilities, as hiſtory relates of Nero, with whom what-

[a] Pyramides regum pecunia otioſo ac ſtulta oſtentio. Plin. lib. 36. hiſt. nat. cap. 12.

ever

ever ſeemed impracticable had the idea of grand. [*b*] *Erat incredibilium cupitor.*

[*c*] Cicero was of opinion, that only ſuch works and Buildings really deſerved admiration, as were deſigned for the public good, ſuch as aqueducts, city-walls, citadels, arſenals, and ſea-ports.

[*d*] He obſerves that Pericles, the principal man in Greece, was juſtly blamed for exhauſting the public treaſures in adorning the city of Athens, and enriching it with ſuperfluous ornaments. The Romans, from the foundation of the empire, had a very different taſte. They had grandeur in their view, but in ſuch matters only as concerned religion, or the public emolument. [*e*] Livy obſerves, that under Tarquinius Superbus they finiſhed a work to carry off the waters of the town, and laid the foundations of the capitol with ſuch magnificence, as after-ages have ſcarce been able to imitate; and we to this day admire the ſtrength and beauty of the public ways, which were raiſed by the Romans in different parts, and ſtill ſubſiſt almoſt entire after ſo many ages.

A like judgment is to be paſſed upon the Buildings of private perſons. [*f*] Tully examining what kind of houſe is proper for a perſon in a great office and of diſtinguiſhed rank in the ſtate, thinks lodging and uſe what ought principally to be regarded; to which a ſecond view might be added, with regard to convenience and dignity; [*g*] but he particularly recommends the avoiding all exceſſive magnificence and expence, as the example never fails of becoming pernicious and contagious, men being generally apt not only to imitate, but to exceed others in this particular. Who, ſays Tully, has rivalled the famous Lucullus

[*b*] Tacit. Ann. lib. 15. c. 42.
[*c*] Lib. 2. Offic. n. 60.
[*d*] Ibid.
[*e*] Lib. 1. n. 56.
[*f*] Lib. 1. Offic. n. 138.
[*g*] Cavendum eſt etiam præſertim ſi ipſe ædifices, ne extra modum ſumptu & magnificentia prodeas: quo in genere multum mali etiam in exemplo eſt. Studioſe enim plerique, præſertim in hac parte, facta principium imitantur, ut L. Luculli ſummi viri virtutem quis? at quam multi villarum magnificentiam imitati ſunt! Ibid. n. 40.

in his virtues? But how many have followed his example in the coſtlineſs of his Buildings? And in our own days we could cite many families, which have either been entirely ruined, or remarkably hurt by a madneſs for building magnificent houſes in town or country, which are the tombs of the moſt ſubſtantial riches of a family, and ſoon paſs into the hands of ſtrangers, who reap the advantage of the firſt owner's folly. And this ſhould lead ſuch perſons as are entruſted with the education of youth, to caution them early againſt ſo common and ſo dangerous a taſte.

[*b*] The ancient Romans were very remote from this. Plutarch mentions one Ælius Tubero in the life of Paulus Æmilius, [*i*] whom he calls an excellent man, and one that ſupported poverty in a more noble and generous manner than any other Roman. There were ſixteen near relations, all of the Ælian family and name, who had only one little houſe in town, and another in the country, where they all lived together with their wives, and a great many little children.

Among the ancient Romans, it was not the houſe which honoured the maſter, but the maſter the houſe. [*k*] A cottage with them became as auguſt as a temple, when juſtice, generoſity, probity, ſincerity, and honour were lodged in it; and how can a houſe be called ſmall, which contains ſo many and ſo great virtues?

The taſte for modeſty in Buildings, and a diſregard for all expenſiveneſs in this particular, paſſed from the republic to the empire, and from private men to the emperors in perſon.

Trajan placed a glory in building little, that he might be the better able to ſupport the ancient edifices. *Idem tam parcus in ædificando, quam diligens in tu-*

[*b*] Cic. lib. 1. de Offic. n. 139.

[*i*] Ἀνὴρ ἄξιος, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα Ῥωμαίων πενίᾳ χρησάμενος.

[*k*] Illud humile tugurium . . . jam omnibus templis formoſius erit, cum illic juſtitia conſpecta fuerit, cum continentia, cùm prudentia, pietas, omnium officiorum recte diſpenſandorum ratio. Nullus anguſtus eſt locus, qui hanc tam magnarum virtutum turbam capit. Senec. de conſol. ad Helv. cap. 9.

endo.

endo. He ſet no value upon whatever adminiſtered to oſtentation and vanity. [*l*] He underſtood, ſays Pliny, wherein the true glory of a prince conſiſted. He knew, that ſtatues, triumphal arches, and Buildings, were liable to periſh by fire and age, or the fancy of a ſucceſſor; but that he who deſpiſes ambition, who governs his paſſions, and ſets bounds to abſolute power, is extolled by all the world during his life, and even after his death, when no body is conſtrained to praiſe him.

The event ſhewed that he was in the right. Alexander Severus repaired ſeveral works of Trajan's, and cauſed the emperor's name to be fixed upon them all, without allowing his own to be placed in his ſtead. All the great emperors acted with the ſame moderation, and we ſee to this day that more medals have been ſtruck to the glory of ſuch princes, as repaired public Buildings and the monumentts of their predeceſſors, than in honour of thoſe who raiſed new ones.

We have already obſerved, in another [*m*] place, that Auguſtus was always content with the ſame apartment and furniture during a reign of near fifty years.

[*n*] Veſpaſian and Titus looked upon it as an honour and a pleaſure to preſerve the little country-houſe, that was left them by their anceſtors, without making any alteration in it.

Thoſe maſters of the world did not think themſelves too ſtraitly lodged in a houſe, which had been built only for a private perſon. The ruins of Adrian's country-ſeat are ſtill remaining, which does not ſeem to have been larger than one of our common houſes, and is by no means equal to that of ſeveral private perſons now living.

[*l*] Scis ubi vera principis, ubi ſempiterna ſit gloria: ubi ſint honores in quos nihil flammis, nihil ſenectuti, nihil ſucceſſoribus liceat. Arcus enim, & ſtatuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obſcurat oblivio, negligit carpitque poſteritas. Contra, contemptor ambitionis, & infinitæ poteſtatis domitor ac frænator animus, ipſa vetuſtate floreſcit, nec ab ullis magis laudatur, quam quibus minime neceſſe eſt. Plin.

[*m*] Sueton.

[*n*] Suet. in vit. Veſp. cap. 2.

For men now, who have no other merit than their riches, (and often of how mean an original!) build magnificent palaces both in town and country; and, to the misfortune of all around them, ſooner or later their neighbour's houſe, vineyard, and inheritance, are ſwallowed up in their vaſt Buildings, and ſerve only to enlarge their gardens and parks.

[o] What is told of cardinal d'Amboiſe, archbiſhop of Rouen, and miniſter of ſtate under Lewis XII. is a very extraordinary example. A gentleman of Normandy had an eſtate in land not far from the beautiful ſeat of Gaillon, which at that time belonged to the archbiſhopric of Rouen. He had no money to give with his daughter in marriage, and to procure a portion, offered to ſell his land to the cardinal at a cheap rate. Another would perhaps have taken advantage of the occaſion; but the cardinal, knowing the gentleman's motive, left him his land, and freely gave him as much money as he ſtood in need of.

We have had a prince [p] in our days, whoſe loſs will be eternally lamented in France, as in many other reſpects, ſo particularly for his extreme averſion to all pomp and uſeleſs expence. It was propoſed to him to put up finer and more faſhionable chimney-pieces in one of his apartments; but as there was no neceſſity for the alteration, he choſe rather to preſerve the old ones. He was adviſed to buy a bureau, worth fifteen hundred livres, but thinking it too dear, he had an old one brought out of the wardrobe, and contented himſelf with that. And thus he behaved in every particular, and out of no other motive than that he might have wherewith to be the more liberal. How great a bleſſing to a kingdom, and how kind a preſent from heaven, is a prince of this character? in point of ſolid Glory and real Greatneſs, how far preferable is a tender love for the people, which extends to ſuch ſelf-denial for their benefit, to all the magnificence of the moſt ſumptuous Buildings?

[o] Vie du card. d'Amboiſe, par Baudier.

[p] The duke of Burgundy.

It

It was this that Lewis XIV. when ready to expire, that is, at a time when the judgment is moſt ſound, recommended to the preſent king, who ſits upon the throne. Amongſt other inſtructions, which have been juſtly deemed worthy of eternal remembrance, *I have been too fond of war* [q], ſaid he to him, *do not follow me in that, nor in the very great expences I have run into.* In the laſt diſcourſe he had with his grandſon at Seaux, when he was ſetting out for Spain, he gave him the ſame advice; and the king of Spain told the perſon from whom I had it, that his grandfather ſpoke theſe words to him with tears in his eyes.

III. FURNITURE. DRESS. EQUIPAGE.

Nothing of this kind makes a man greater or more deſerving, becauſe nothing of all this makes a part of himſelf, but is wholly external and foreign to him. And yet the generality of mankind place their greatneſs in theſe. They look upon themſelves as mixed and incorporated with all around them, their Furniture, Dreſs, and Equipage. They ſwell and enlarge the idea they form of themſelves as much as they can, from theſe outward circumſtances: by theſe they think they are very great, and flatter themſelves that they appear ſo in the eyes of others.

[r] But to paſs a right judgment upon their greatneſs, we ſhould examine them in themſelves, and ſet aſide for a few moments their train and retinue. We

[q] Dernieres paroles de Louis XIV. au roy Louis XV. de l'imprimerie du cabinet du roy.

[r] Nemo iſtorum, quos divitiæ honoreſque in altiore faſtigio ponunt magnus eſt. Quare ergo magnus videtur? Cum balli illum ſua metiris. Hoc laboramus errore, ſic nobis imponitur, quod neminem æſtimamus eo quod eſt, ſed adjicimus illi & ea quibus adornatus eſt. Atqui cum voles veram hominis æſtimationem inire, & ſcire qualis ſit, nudum inſpice. Ponat patrimonium, ponat honores, & alia fortunæ mendacia. Sen. Ep. 76.

Auro illos, argento, & ebore ornavi: intus boni nihil eſt. Iſti, quos pro felicibus aſpicitis, ſi, non qua occurunt, ſed qua latent, videretis, miſeri ſunt, ſordidi, turpes, ad ſimilitudinem parietum ſuorum extrinſecus culti. Itaque, dum illis licet ſtare, & ad arbitrium ſuum oſtendi, nitent & imponunt: cum aliquid incidit quod diſturbet ac detegat, tunc apparet quantum altæ ac veræ fœditatis alienus ſplendor abſconderit. Id. lib. de provid. cap. ix

ſhould then find that they appear great and exalted, by being beheld at a diſtance, and raiſed in a manner upon their baſis. Strip them of this advantage, and reduce them to their proper ſtandard, to their juſt proportion, and the vain phantom vaniſhes. Their outſide is rich and fine, like the walls of their apartments; within there is often nought but meanneſs, baſeneſs, and poverty, with an hideous void of every merit; and ſometimes even this fine outward ſhew conceals the moſt enormous crimes and the moſt infamous vices.

God, [*s*] ſays Seneca, could not have caſt a greater reproach and diſgrace upon theſe outward advantages, which are the object of our deſires, than by conferring them, as he often does, upon ſorry wretches, and denying them uſually to men of the greateſt probity. To what a condition would the latter be reduced, if men were to be judged by their outſide? How often has the moſt ſolid merit been miſtaken, and expoſed even to contempt, becauſe concealed under a mean habit, and an indifferent appearance?

[*t*] Philopemen, the greateſt ſoldier of his age in Greece, who exalted ſo much the glory of the republic of the Achæans, by his extraordinary merit, and whom the Romans called by way of admiration the laſt of the Greeks; this Philopemen was uſually clad in a very plain dreſs, and often went abroad without any ſervant or attendance. In this manner he came alone to the houſe of a friend who had invited him to dinner. The miſtreſs of the family, who expected the general of the Achæans, took him for a ſervant, and begged he would give her his aſſiſtance in the kitchen, becauſe her huſband was abſent. Philopemon without ceremony threw off his cloak, and fell to cleaving wood. The huſband coming in at that inſtant, and ſurpriſed at the oddneſs of the ſight, "[*u*] How now,

[*s*] Nullo modo magis poteſt Deus concupita traducere, quam ſi illa ad turpiſſimos defert, ab optimis abigit. Ibid. cap. 5.

[*t*] Plut. in vit. Philop.

[*u*] Τί τοῦτο (ἔφη) Φιλοποίμην; Τί γὰρ ἄλλο, (ἔφη δορίζων ἐκεῖνος) ἢ κακῶς ὄψεως δίδωμι.

"Philo-

" Philopemen," says he, " what's the meaning of " this?" " Oh," answered the other, " I am paying " interest for my bad appearance."

Scipio Æmilianus, who lived four and fifty years, never made any acquisition in all his life, and when he died, left only four and forty marks of silver plate, and three of gold, though he had been master of all the wealth of Carthage, and had enriched his soldiers more than any other general. Being deputed by the senate of Rome with full powers to restore discipline in the towns and provinces, and to inspect kings and nations, though descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, and adopted into one of the richest, and though he had so august a character to support in the name of the Roman empire, he carried with him but one friend, and he was a [x] philosopher, and five servants, one of which dying upon the road, he contented himself with the four that remained, till one came from Rome to supply his place. As soon as he came to Alexandria with his small retinue, his fame discovered him, notwithstanding all the care his modesty had taken to prevent it, and drew all the city to meet him upon his landing. [y] His person alone, without any other attendance than that of his virtues, his actions, and his triumphs, was enough to extinguish, even in the eyes of the people, the vain splendor of the king of Egypt, who was advanced to meet him with all his court, and drew upon him alone the eyes, the acclamations, and applauses of all the world.

[z] These examples teach us, that we ought not to value men by their outward appearance, any more than a horse by his trappings. An extraordinary merit may lie hid under a mean habit, as a rich garment may cover enormous vices. They shew us in the second place, that greater courage and resolution is required, than

[x] Panætius.

[y] Cùm per socios & exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriæ numerabantur; nec, quantum auri & argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis pondus secum ferret, æstimabatur. Val Max. lib. 4. cap. 3. n. 13.

[z] Senec. Ep. 47.

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one would eaſily imagine, to become ſuperior to popular opinions, and to get the better of the falſe infamy which the world is pleaſed to caſt upon a plain, poor, and frugal manner of living. Seneca, as much a philoſopher as he was, or had a mind to be thought, had always ſomewhat of this falſe ſhame hanging about him; and [a] he owns himſelf, that going down ſometimes to his country-ſeat in an ordinary chariot, he has bluſhed againſt his inclination at being caught upon the road in ſuch an equipage by perſons of diſtinction; a certain proof, as he ſays himſelf, that he had not thoroughly reduced to practice what he had ſaid and wrote upon the advantages of a frugal life. He that bluſhes at a mean chariot, adds he, is fond of a finer. And he has made little progreſs in virtue, who dares not openly declare in favour of poverty and frugality, and is at all concerned about the judgment of ſpectators.

[b] Ageſilaus, king of Lacedæmon, was herein a greater philoſopher than Seneca. A Spartan education had armed him againſt this falſe ſhame. Pharnabaſus, governor of one of the provinces belonging to the king of Perſia, had deſired to treat of peace with him; and the interview was appointed in the open field. The firſt appeared in all the pomp and luxury of the Perſian court. He was dreſſed in a purple robe embroidered with gold and ſilver. The ground was ſpread with rich carpets, and fine cuſhions were laid to ſit down upon. Ageſilaus, in a very plain dreſs, without any ceremony, ſat himſelf down upon the graſs. The pride of the Perſian was confounded at his behaviour, and unable to ſupport the compariſon, paid homage to the plainneſs of the Lacedæmonian, by following his example. And this, becauſe a quite dif-

[a] Vix à me obtineo, ut hoc vehiculum velim videri meum. Durat adhuc perverſa recti verecundia. Quoties in aliquem comitatum lautiorem incidimus, invitus erubeſco: quod argumentum eſt, iſta quæ probo, quæ laudo, nondum habere certam fidem & immobilem. Qui ſordido vehiculo erubeſcit, pretioſo gloriatur. Parum adhuc profeci, nondum audeo frugalitatem palam ferre: etiam nunc curo opiniones viatorum. Id. Ep. 87.

[b] Plut. in. vit. Ageſ.

ferent

ferent train, which far outſhone all the gold and ſilver of Perſia, ſurrounded Ageſilaus, and gained him reverence; I mean, his name, his reputation, his victories, and the terror of his arms, which made the king of Perſia tremble even upon his throne.

The emperors [c] Nerva, [d] Trajan, [e] Antoninus, and [f] Marcus Aurelius, ſold the palaces, the gold and ſilver plate, the valuable furniture, and all the ſuperfluities they could diſpenſe with, which their predeceſſors had heaped up through a deſire of poſſeſſing ſolely whatever was exquiſitely curious. Theſe princes, as alſo Veſpaſian, Pertinax, Severus, Alexander, Claudius II. and Tacitus, who were raiſed to the empire by their merit, and whom all ages have admired as the beſt and greateſt of princes, always affected a great ſimplicity in their apparel, their furniture, and outward appearance, and deſpiſed whatever had the leaſt tincture of pomp and luxury. By retrenching all uſeleſs expences, [g] they found a greater fund in their own modeſty, than the moſt avaritious in all their ſpoils; and without endeavouring to ſet themſelves off by any outward luſtre, [h] ſhewed they were only emperors by the care they took of the public. In every thing elſe they reſembled other citizens, and lived like private men. But the lower they ſtooped in their condeſcenſions, the greater and more auguſt they appeared.

[i] Veſpaſian upon ſolemn days drank out of a ſmall ſilver cup, which had been left him by his grandmother, who brought him up. [k] Trajan's retinue was very modeſt and moderate. He had no body to clear the way before him, and was pleaſed ſometimes to be under a neceſſity of ſtopping in the ſtreets to let the attendants of others paſs by him.

[c] Dio.
[d] Plin. paneg.
[e] Capitol.
[f] In vit. Mar. Aurel. Vict. epit. & Eutrop.
[g] Plin. paneg.
[h] Dio lib. 66. Τῇ φρονοίᾳ τῶν κοινῶν, αὐτοκράτωρ ἐνομίζετο.
[i] Sueton. vit. Veſpaſ. cap. 2.
[k] Plin. paneg.

[l] Marcus

[*l*] Marcus Aurelius was ſtill more averſe to every thing that had the air of pomp and luxury. He lay upon the bare ground; at twelve years old he took the habit of a philoſopher; he forbore the uſe of guards, the imperial ornaments, and the enſigns of honour, which were carried before the Cæſars and the Auguſti. Nor was this conduct owing to the ignorance of what was grand and beautiful, but to the juſter and purer taſte he had of both, and to an intimate perſuaſion that the greateſt glory, and principal duty of man, eſpecially if in power, and eminently conſpicuous, is ſo far to imitate the Deity, as to throw himſelf into a condition of wanting as little as may be for himſelf, and doing all the good to others he is capable of.

[*m*] Arnold d'Oſſat, who is ſo famous for his wonderful abilities in negotiation, though his furniture fell far ſhort of the dignity of a cardinal, refuſed to accept of the money, the chariot and horſes, and the damaſk bed, which the cardinal de Joyeuſe ſent him as a preſent three weeks after his promotion. For, [*n*] ſays he, *though I have not all that is requiſite to ſupport this dignity, yet I will not for that reaſon renounce the abſtinence and modeſty I have always obſerved.* Such a diſpoſition is far more extraordinary and valuable, than a magnificent equipage, and rich furniture.

[*o*] The tribune of the people, who became an advocate for the Roman ladies againſt the ſeverity of Cato, and pleaded for the reſtoring to them, after the ſecond Punic war, the right of wearing gold and ſilver in their apparel, ſeems to inſinuate, that dreſs or ornament were in a manner their natural province; and that as they could not aſpire to any preferments, to the prieſthood, or the honour of a triumph, it would not only be cruel, but unjuſt, to refuſe them a conſolation, which the ſole neceſſity of the times had taken from them. This reaſon might affect the

[*l*] M. Aur. vit. Dio. Julian. Cæſ.
[*m*] Vie du card. d'Oſſat.
[*n*] Lett. 181.
[*o*] Liv. lib. 34. n. 74.

people,

people, but was not very honourable to the ſex, as it taxes them with weakneſs and meanneſs, in repreſenting them as fond of trifles. *Virorum hoc animos vulnerare poſſet, quid muliercularum cenſetis, quas etiam parva movent.*

Yet we learn from hiſtory, that the Roman ladies generouſly ſtripped themſelves of all their jewels, and preſented all their gold and ſilver, [*p*] at one time, to enable the republic to diſcharge a vow made to Apollo, for which they had honourable diſtinctions granted them; [*q*] and at another, to redeem Rome from the Gauls, which procured them the right and privilege of being praiſed in funeral orations, as well as the men. [*r*] In the ſecond Punic war the widows in like manner brought their gold and ſilver into the public treaſury, to aſſiſt the ſtate in the extreme neceſſity under which it groaned.

The famous Cornelia, daughter to the great Scipio, and mother to the Gracchi, is univerſally known. Her extraction was the nobleſt in Rome, and her family the richeſt. [*s*] A lady of Campania, coming to make her a viſit, and lodging in her houſe, diſplayed with pomp whatever was then moſt faſhionable and valuable for the toilette, gold and ſilver, jewels, diamonds, bracelets, pendants, and all that apparatus which the ancients called *mundum muliebrem*. She expected to find ſomewhat ſtill finer in the houſe of a perſon of her quality, and deſired very importunately to ſee her toilette. Cornelia artfully prolonged the converſation till ſuch time as her children came home, who were then gone to the public ſchools, and pointing to them as they entered, "See here, ſays ſhe, are "my jewels." *Et hæc, inquit, ornamenta mea ſunt.* We need only examine our own thoughts in relation to theſe two ladies, to find out how far ſuperior the noble ſimplicity of the one was to the vain magnificence of the other. And indeed what merit or ability is there in buying up a large collection of precious

[*p*] Liv. lib. 5. n. 25.
[*q*] Ib. n. 50.
[*r*] Ib. lib. 24. n. 28.
[*s*] Valer. Max. lib. 4. c. 4.

ſtones

ſtones and jewels, in being vain of them, or in not knowing how to talk of any thing elſe? And on the other hand, how truly worthy is it in a perſon of the firſt quality to be above ſuch trifles, to place her honour and glory in the good education of her children, in ſparing no expence towards the bringing it about, and in ſhewing that nobleneſs and greatneſs of ſoul do equally belong to both ſexes?

"[t] De Beaunes, archbiſhop of Bourges, in the ora-
" tion he made to the ſtates of Blois againſt luxury,
" and principally with reſpect to coaches, which ſe-
" veral perſons of mean condition began to make uſe
" of, highly commends the modeſty of the premier
" preſident du Thou's lady, who, to ſet an example
" to other ladies of quality, was always content to be
" carried behind another on horſeback, when ſhe
" made her viſits in the town." What merits praiſe in this little ſtory, is not the viſiting on horſeback, (ſuch were the cuſtoms of thoſe times) but the noble greatneſs of ſoul in this lady, who thought, that the giving others an example of modeſty and ſimplicity was the beſt manner of ſupporting the dignity of her ſtation, and becoming in reality a premier preſident.

IV. *Of* LUXURY *in* EATING *and* DRINKING.

This was carried in the declenſion of the republic to an almoſt incredible exceſs, and under the emperors they ſtill roſe upon the gluttony of their predeceſſors.

[u] Lucullus, who in other reſpects was a man of excellent qualities, upon his return from the war, attempted to ſubſtitute the glory of magnificence to that of his arms and battles, and turned all his ſtudies that way. He laid out immenſe ſums upon his houſes and gardens, and was ſtill more expenſive at his table. He required it every day to be ſerved up in the ſame ſumptuous manner, though no body was to dine with him. As his ſteward was one day excuſing the meanneſs of

[t] Opuſc. de Leyſel. [u] Plut. in Luculli.

his

his dinner, becauſe there was no company, "Did you "not know," ſays he, "that Lucullus was to eat at "Lucullus's houſe to-day." Tully and Pompey not giving credit to the reports of his ordinary magnificence, were reſolved one day to ſurpriſe him, and be ſatisfied whether it was ſo or not. And meeting him in public, they invited themſelves, and would not allow him to give any directions to his domeſtics about their entertainment. He therefore barely ordered that dinner ſhould be ſerved up in the hall of Apollo. The entertainment was got ready with ſo much celerity and opulence, as ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed his gueſts. They did not know that the *hall of Apollo* was a watch-word, and ſignified that the feaſt ſhould amount to [x] fifty thouſand drachms.

If good eating and drinking were capable of procuring ſolid glory, Lucullus was the greateſt man of his age. But who ſees not, how pitiful and ſilly it was to place his honour and reputation in making the world believe, that he every day ſquandered enormous and ſenſeleſs expences for the gratification of his own private appetite? I queſtion whether his gueſts, who mightily commended and admired, no doubt, ſuch prodigious magnificence, were much wiſer than he. For 'twas they ſupported his folly and diſtemper. [y] *Irritamentum eſt omnium in quæ inſanimus, admirator & conſcius.* "To admire the folly of a madman is to "promote his folly." And the ſame may be ſaid of all that outward magnificence, by which men ſtrive to make themſelves conſiderable, large apartments, valuable furniture, and rich garments. [z] 'Tis all for ſhew, and not for eaſe; for the ſpectators, and not for the maſter. Place him in ſolitude, and you make him frugal and modeſt, and all this vanity is at an end.

[x] 2500 livres.

[y] Senec. Ep. 94.

[z] Quid miraris? Quid ſtupes? Pompa eſt. Oſtenduntur iſtæ res, non poſſidentur. Senec. Ep. 110. Ambitio & luxuria ſcenam deſiderant: ſanabis iſta, ſi abſconderis. Id. Ep. 94. Aſſueſcamus à nobis removere pompam, & uſus rerum non ornamenta metiri. Id. de tranquil. animæ, c. 9.

But

But to give a different instance of this folly. [a] A person, entering Anthony's kitchen, was surprised to see eight wild boars roasting at the same time. He judged there was like to be a great deal of company, but was mistaken. Whilst Anthony was at Alexandria there was always a magnificent entertainment ready to be served up about supper-time, that whenever Anthony was pleased to call for it, he might have his table covered with the most exquisite meats.

I forbear to mention such extravagant and wild expences, as a dish made up of the tongues of the scarcest birds in the universe, or several pearls of immense price infused and dissolved in a certain liquor, for the pleasure of swallowing down a million at a draught.

To these monsters of luxury, who are a disgrace to mankind, let us oppose the modesty and frugality of a Cato, the honour of his age and commonwealth; I mean the elder, who is usually sirnamed the Censor. [b] He boasted that he had never drank any other wine, than such as was drunk by his workmen and domestics, never bought a supper which exceeded thirty sestertia, nor ever wore a garment which cost above an hundred drachms of silver. He learnt to live thus, he said, from the example of the famous Curius, that great man who drove Pyrrhus out of Italy, and had thrice the honour of a triumph. The house he had lived in, in the country of the Sabines, was near to Cato's, and for this reason he looked upon it as a model the more venerable from being in his neighbourhood. 'Twas this Curius the embassadors of the Samnites found in a poor little cottage, sitting in the chimney-corner boiling of roots, who rejected their presents with disdain, telling them, that whoever could be content with such a supper did not want gold; and that for his part he thought it more honourable to command over those who had riches, than to have them himself.

[a] Plut. in vit. Anton. [b] Plut. in vit. Cat. Cens.

These

These examples may be too old perhaps to make any impression upon the generality of mankind in our age; but they had such an effect upon several of the greatest Roman emperors, that though they were in full possession of riches and power, though they were to support the majesty of a large empire, and had the profusion of their predecessors in every kind before their eyes, they thought they could not aspire to be really great, but as they rose above that corruption of their own age, and resembled those venerable models of antiquity, formed upon the rules of the purest reason and the justest taste of solid Glory.

It was by studying these great originals, that Vespasian declared himself an enemy to all pomp, pleasures and entertainments, and that he followed the modesty and frugality of the ancients in every thing about him. It was by these virtues he checked the course of public luxury and prodigality, especially with respect to eating. And this disorder, [*c*] which under Tiberius seemed to be past all remedy, and had increased excessively under the succeeding bad princes, and which the laws, armed with all the terrors of punishment, had not been able to suppress, [*d*] gave way to the bare example he set of sobriety and temperance, and the desire others had of pleasing him by doing as he did. [*e*] In the same manner he threw a scandal and disgrace upon luxury and effeminacy, by taking away a commission from a young man to whom he had given it, because he was perfumed when he came to thank him for it. *I had rather*, said he, *you had stunk of garlick.*

The emperors Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Alexander, Pertinax, Aurelian, Tacitus, Claudius II. and Probus, all princes who have done the greatest honour to the throne, guided by the same taste, and disciples of the same masters, al-

[*c*] Tacit. Ann. l. 3. c. 52.

[*d*] Præcipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiqua ipse cultu victuque; obsequium inde in principem & æmulandi amor, validior quàm pœna ex legibus, & metus. Tacit. Ann. l. 3. c. 55.

[*e*] Suet. l. 8. c. 8.

ways took care to be very frugal and modeſt in their tables, and baniſhed all expence and delicacy from them with the utmoſt ſeverity. Moſt of them, whilſt in the camp, [*f*] eat the common food that was given to the army; and Alexander, to ſatisfy the ſoldiers that he fed as they did, cauſed his tent to be always open, whilſt he was at his meals. When he was not in the field [*g*] the daily expence of his houſe, to our great aſtoniſhment, was ſo ſmall, that now-a-days it would ſcarce ſuffice a private family. He had no gold utenſils, and his ſilver plate did not amount to three hundred marks; ſo that when much company was to dine with him, he would borrow the plate of his friends, with their ſervants to wait on them; not keeping more officers in his palace, than he commonly ſtood in need of. And this not out of any parſimonious diſpoſition, for never prince was more liberal, [*h*] but out of a thorough conviction, as he would often ſay, that the grandeur and glory of the empire did not conſiſt in ſplendor and magnificence, but in the ſtrength of the ſtate, and the virtue of thoſe who governed it. [*i*] Ptolemy, king of Egypt, had long before ſet a like example of modeſty. He had very little plate in his palace, no more than was requiſite for his own private uſe. And when he invited any of his friends to dine with him, he would ſend and borrow theirs, [*k*] declaring it was more worthy of a king to enrich others, than to be rich himſelf.

What is reported of the emperor Probus, [*l*] who holds one of the firſt places in the number of great princes, and under whom the Roman empire arrived

[*f*] Cheeſe, bacon, beans, pulſe.

[*g*] Fifteen pints of wine a day, thirty pounds of meat, and eighty pounds of bread. Only they added a green gooſe on feaſt-days, and upon great ſolemnities a pheaſant or two, and two capons. Lamp. in vit. Alex.

[*h*] Ibid.

[*i*] The ſon of Lagus. Plut. in Apophthegm.

[*k*] Τὲ πλουτεῖν ἔλεγε τὸ πλουτίζειν εἶναι βασιλικώτερον.

[*l*] Syneſius names him Carinus, but M. Tillemont, after F. Petavius, is of opinion that it agrees better with Probus.

at the higheſt pitch of happineſs, is no leſs worthy of admiration. During his war with Perſia, as he was ſitting at dinner upon the bare ground, and eating a meſs of pork and peaſe, word was brought him that the Perſian embaſſadors were arrived. Without changing either his poſture or dreſs, which was no other than a purple coat, but made of woollen, and a cap which he wore for want of hair, he ordered them to be introduced, and told them that he was the emperor, and they might go and tell their maſter, that if he did not take care, he would in a month's time lay all his fields as naked of trees and corn, as his head was of hairs; and at the ſame time he took off his cap, to make them the better comprehend his meaning. He then invited them to eat part of his dinner, in caſe they were hungry; if not, they had nothing to do but to go back immediately. The embaſſadors made their report to their prince, who was in a terrible fright, as well as his ſoldiers, that they had to deal with a people, who were ſuch profeſſed enemies to luxury and pleaſures. He came in perſon to meet the emperor, and granted him whatever he demanded.

But comparing all I have hitherto mentioned concerning pomp and ſimplicity; on the one ſide, whatever is moſt ſplendid, riches, magnificent buildings, furniture, fine clothes, and a table moſt ſumptuouſly and delicately ſpread; and on the other, poverty, ſimplicity, frugality and modeſty, but attended with victories, triumphs, conſulſhips, dictatorial power, and even the empire of the world; I leave it to the judgment of any man of good ſenſe and reaſon, on which ſide lies the noble and great, and which he thinks deſerves moſt his eſteem and admiration. The deciſion will not be difficult. And it is this natural and unſtudied ſenſe of things, which I look upon as the rule of good taſte in the point of ſolid Glory and real Grandeur.

In quoting theſe ancient examples of modeſty and frugality, I have no deſign to propoſe them as perfect

models for our imitation. Our age and manners cannot bear ſo maſculine and robuſt a virtue. There are beſides certain rules of decency to be obſerved, and in every ſtate and condition things may be reduced to an honeſt and commendable mediocrity, which will juſtify and direct the uſe of them. But how much ought we to be concerned, and aſhamed to obſerve to what a degree our manners have degenerated from the virtue of the ancient Pagans? and what efforts ought we not to make to conform in ſome meaſure at leaſt to thoſe primitive rules, though we are not ſo happy to have any longer the courage and liberty entirely to come up to them.

My deſign in theſe examples, is firſt to teach youth, that they ought not to look upon ſuch as lead a poor and frugal life, as contemptible, or even unhappy. It is the reflection which Seneca draws from the examples before us. Do we think, [*m*] ſays he, that our anceſtors, whoſe virtues ſtill ſupport the empire, which our vices would have long ago deſtroyed, were much to be pitied, for dreſſing their own dinners, for lying on hard couches, or for having neither gold nor diamonds in their houſes and temples.

I am ſenſible that one objection may be made to all I can ſay of the ancient Greeks and Romans. For though we may reſpect the examples of frugality, ſimplicity and poverty, in Ariſtides, Cimon, Curius, Fabricius, Cato, &c. yet it is natural enough to make ſome abatements, from a perſuaſion, that in poor republics it was ſcarce poſſible to live otherwiſe; and it is ſtill doubtful with the generality of people, whether theſe examples can be of any uſe to our age, which is richer and more plentiful, and in which it would be ridiculous to attempt to imitate them. But in my opinion the example of the emperors

[*m*] Scilicet majores noſtri, quorum virtus etiam nunc vitia noſtra ſuſtentat, infelices erant, qui ſibi manu ſua parabant cibum, quibus terra cubilæ erat, quorum tecta nondum auro fulgebant, quorum templa nondum gemmis nitebant? Senec. de Conſol. ad Helv. c. 10.

amounts

amounts to full proof, and ſets the matter beyond exception. In ſhort, if thoſe maſters of the world, whoſe riches were equal to their power, and who ſucceeded to emperors that had carried luxury, pleaſures, epicuriſm and extravagance to the utmoſt heights of exceſs, were ſtill fond of frugality, modeſty, ſimplicity, and poverty, what reaſonable reply can be made to the maxims I have laid down upon this ſubject?

I would deſire to know, whether thoſe great princes I have ſpoken of, thoſe men of extraordinary talents and ſuperior genius, had not the taſte of real Greatneſs and ſolid Glory; whether all nations and ages have been miſtaken in the high encomiums they have given them; and whether any one ever ventured to charge them with having debaſed either the nobility of their birth, the dignity of their ſtation, or the majeſty of the empire; and whether on the other hand theſe were not the qualities which raiſed them the higher, and have univerſally drawn upon them the eſteem, love, and admiration of poſterity. Can any private perſon now imagine himſelf a better judge of real glory than they were, or ſhould he think himſelf unhappy or diſhonoured, by being found in ſuch illuſtrious company, and ſtanding by a Trajan, an Antoninus, or a Marcus Aurelius? Shall we pay a greater regard to an Apicius, who ſetting up for a perfect maſter in the art of cookery, infected and corrupted his age by that wretched ſcience? [n] *Qui ſcientiam popinæ profeſſus, diſciplina ſua ſeculum infecit.* "He who profeſſes the ſcience of cookery, infects "the age he lives in." Shall we prefer to the great examples I have quoted thoſe of Caligula, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, Commodus, or Heliogabalus? For, to the ineſtimable good fortune of their people, all the good emperors in general, and without exception, have been of the character I here recommend; and all the bad emperors in general are found in the oppoſite claſs, with all the vices which I condemn.

[n] Senec. de Conſol. ad Helv. cap. 10.

My design, secondly, is to instil into youth a veneration for the original source and principle from whence arose that generous contempt which the great men of antiquity shewed for what the greatest part of mankind now admire and pursue. For 'tis this principle, this disposition of the mind, which is really estimable. A man may be reserved and modest in the midst of riches and honours, as he may be proud and avaricious in the obscurity of a poor and wretched life.

[o] The emperor Antoninus is judged to be one of the greatest princes that ever reigned. He was held in such reverence by all posterity, [p] that neither the Roman people, nor the soldiers, could suffer any other emperor to be called after his name; and Alexander Severus himself found it too august, to venture upon assuming it. [q] Antoninus, through an equality of mind and greatness of soul, which rendered him independent of all without him, was usually satisfied with what was most plain and moderate. As he affected nothing particular in his food, lodging, bed, domestics or dress, wearing only the common stuffs, and such as were readiest to be met with; so he would make use of the conveniencies which offered, without rejecting them through affectation; equally ready to use every thing with moderation, or lay it aside without uneasiness.

'Twas this disposition of mind the wife of Tubero, whom I have already spoken of, particularly admired in her husband, according to the judicious observation of Plutarch. "She was not ashamed, [r] says "the historian, of her husband's poverty, but ad- "mired in him the virtue which made him consent "to remain poor:" that is, the motive which retained him in his poverty, by disapproving the means of becoming rich, which are usually dishoneſt and un-

[o] Dio, lib. 70. Capitol. in vit. T. Antonin.

[p] Capitol. in vit. Macrin. Diad. Getæ. Lamprid. in vit. Alex.

[q] M. Aur. lib. 1. c. 18. & lib. 6. c. 23.

[r] Οὐκ αἰσχυνομένην τὴν πενίαν τῷ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἣς πένης ἦν.

just.

juſt. For the lawful ways of accumulating wealth were very rare to a noble Roman; as he could not apply himſelf to buſineſs and trade, nor expect any gratification, or penſion, or other kind of benefit, which officers uſually now receive from the liberality of our princes, by way of recompence for the ſervices he did the ſtate. There was ſcarce any other way of becoming rich, but by plundering the provinces, as other magiſtrates and generals did. And it was this greatneſs of ſoul, this diſintereſtedneſs, this delicacy and love of juſtice, which made him reject all unworthy means of throwing off his poverty, that this lady ſo deſervedly admired in him. Infinitely above the common ſentiments of the world, ſhe diſcerned through the veils of poverty and ſimplicity the greatneſs of ſoul which occaſioned them, and thought herſelf obliged to reſpect her huſband ſtill more upon that very account, which might perhaps have rendered him contemptible to other women; θαυμάζεσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἣς πένης ἦν.

In my opinion, youth ſhould principally be put upon taking notice of ſuch paſſages as theſe, whilſt they are reading hiſtory, as nothing is more capable of forming their taſte and judgment, to which the care of maſters ought entirely to tend.

'Tis of ſervice alſo to confirm theſe inſtructions by examples taken from modern hiſtory, and eſpecially of the great men, whoſe memory is ſtill recent. Who has not heard of M. de Turenne's ſimplicity and modeſty in his retinue and equipage? "He ſtrives "to conceal himſelf," ſays M. Flechier in his funeral oration, "but his reputation diſcovers him. He "marches without a train of attendants, whilſt every "man in his own mind places him upon a triumphal "car. As he paſſes by, the enemies he has con-"quered are reckoned, and not the ſervants which "follow him. Alone as he is, we imagine him ſur-"rounded in all places with his virtues and victories. "There is ſomething extremely noble in this elegant "ſimplicity, and the leſs haughty he is, the more

" venerable he becomes." His character was exactly the ſame in all reſpects, in his buildings, his furniture and his table. M. de Catinat, the worthy diſciple of ſuch a maſter, imitated him in his ſimplicity, as well as in his military virtues.

I have heard ſome officers ſay, who had ſerved under theſe two great men, that in the army their tables were well ſupplied, but with great plainneſs; that they were plentiful, but military; that they eat only of common food, and drank only of the wine of the country where the troops lay.

Mareſchal de la Ferte, when no longer able to ſerve, through his great age and infirmities, ordered his ſon's equipage for the campaign to be got ready. His ſteward having made ample proviſion of truffles, morilles, and all the other materials that were requiſite to make excellent ragoos, by the ſon's direction, brought in the bill. The mareſchal had ſcarce caſt his eye upon it, before he threw it away in a paſſion, " 'Tis not thus, ſaid he, that we made war. Coarſe " meat plainly dreſſed was all the ragoos we had. " Go, tell my ſon, that I will not put myſelf for no- " thing to ſo fooliſh an expence, and ſo unworthy of " a ſoldier." This I was told by an officer that was preſent. And the ſame gentleman obſerved, that in the late war the officers, that met at Paris, ſeldom entertained themſelves with any other food, than ſuch as they had eaten during the campaign.

Lewis XIV. in the military code he has left behind him, which contains divers regulations for the ſoldiery, beſides what relates to plate, equipage, and dreſs, [s] particularly recommends plainneſs and frugality

[s] Sa majeſté voulant par toutes voies ôter les moiens aux officiers généraux de ſes armées de ſe conſtituer en des dépenſes inutiles & ſuperfiues, comme celles qui ſe font en leurs tables, s'étant introduit une méchante coutume de faire dans les armées des repas plus magnifiques & ſomptueux qu'ils ne font ordinairement en leurs maiſons: ce qui non ſeulement incommode les plus riches, mais ruine entierement les moins accommodés, qui à leur exemple PAR UNE FAUSSE REPUTATION, croient être obligés de les imiter. . . Défend ſa majeſté aux lieutenans généraux, &c. qui tiendront table, d'y faire ſervir autre choſe que des potages & du rôti, avec des entrées & entremets qui

gality in eating; and to this end enters into a very particular detail, and forbids an expenſive and ſumptuous table under ſevere penalties. Thus a prince, who knows how to govern, eaſily comprehends how important it is to the ſtate to baniſh all luxury and magnificence from the camp; [*t*] to ſuppreſs the ſenſeleſs ambition of ſuch as ſtrive to diſtinguiſh [*u*] themſelves by a falſe politeneſs, and the ſtudy of what ſoftens and enervates mankind; and to cover with ſhame ſuch profuſions as conſume in a few months what might ſerve for ſeveral years, *or be ſo much more nobly applied in relieving the diſtreſſes, and promoting the happineſs of mankind.*

V. Honours. Dignities.

Poſts of preferment, and the marks of reſpect annexed to them, may flatter the ambition and vanity of mankind, but in themſelves include no real Glory or ſolid Greatneſs, as they are foreign to them, as they are not always the proof and reward of merit, as they add nothing to the good qualities either of body or mind, as they correct none of our faults, but often on the contrary ſerve to multiply and make them more remarkable, by making them conſpicuous, and exhibiting them in a ſtronger light. Thoſe who judge beſt, without ſuffering themſelves to be dazzled by empty ſhew, have always held dignities as burthens which they were loaded with, rather than honoured by; and the higher they have been raiſed, the heavier and more dreadful the weight has appeared. There is nothing ſo ſplendid in the eyes of mankind, as royalty and ſovereign power, and nothing at the ſame time ſo laborious and oppreſſive. The glory which

qui ne ſeront que de groſſes viandes, ſans qu'il puiſſe avoir aucunes aſſiettes volantes ni hors d'œuvre, &c. Réglemens du 24 Mars 1672, & du premier Avril 1705.

[*t*] Ambitione ſtolida luxurioſos apparatus conviviorum, & irritamenta libidinum, ut inſtrumenta belli, lucrantur. Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 88.

[*u*] Paulatim diſceſſum ad delinimenta vitiorum, balnea & conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocatur. Tacit. in vit. Agric. cap. 21.

ſur-

ſurrounds it, makes us with reaſon admire ſuch perſons as have had the courage to refuſe it; and the labour and pains which are inſeparable from it, make us ſtill more admire ſuch as rightly diſcharge all the duties of it.

The young Sidonians, who refuſed the ſceptre which was offered them, well underſtood, as Hephæſtion tells them, that it was far more glorious to deſpiſe, than to accept royalty; [x] *Primi intellexiſtis, quanto majus eſſet regnum faſtidire, quàm accipere.* And the anſwer of Abdalonymus, whom they had raiſed from the duſt to a throne, ſufficiently explains his opinion of it. Alexander aſking him how he had borne his condition of poverty and miſery; "Would "to God, ſays he, I could bear royalty with as much "courage and reſolution!" *Utinam, inquit, eodem animo regnum pati poſſim!* The phraſe *regnum pati*, "to bear royalty" is very expreſſive, and plainly ſhews that he thought it a heavier and more dangerous burden than poverty.

We ſhall ſee hereafter in what manner the Romans were forced to offer violence to Numa Pompilius, the ſecond king of Rome, before he would accept of an authority, which ſeemed to him the more fomidable, as it gave him an almoſt unlimited power, and, under the ſpecious title of king and maſter, made him the actual ſervant and ſlave of all his ſubjects.

[y] Tacitus and Probus, who did ſo much honour to the royal dignity, were both advanced to the empire againſt their will. The firſt urged his great age and weakneſs, which made him incapable of marching at the head of an army; [z] but the whole ſenate anſwered, that the empire was entruſted to his underſtanding and prudence, that it was his merit they choſe, and not his body. And a letter which Probus wrote to one of the principal officers of the empire, fully explains his real ſentiments. "I never deſired,

[x] Q. Curt. lib. 4. n. 1.
[y] Vopiſc. in vit. Probi & Taciti.
[z] Quis melius quam ſenex imperat? Imperatorem te, non militem facimus. Tu jube, milites pugnent; animum tuum, non corpus, eligimus.

"ſays

" ſays he, the place I poſſeſs; I was raiſed to it " againſt my will, and continue in it only through " an apprehenſion of expoſing the republic and my- " ſelf to new dangers by deſerting it."

[*a*] Upon the death of the emperor Maximilian, there aroſe very powerful factions in behalf of thoſe who laid claim to the empire. The two principal competitors were Francis I. and Charles V. The electors, to put an end to theſe diſputes, reſolved to exclude them both as being foreigners, and to place the imperial crown upon one of their own nation, and of the number of the electors. They therefore unanimouſly choſe Frederic of Saxony, ſirnamed the Wiſe, who deſired two days to conſider of it; on the third he thanked the electors with great modeſty, but told them that at his age he found himſelf unable to ſupport ſo great a burden. And continuing firm in this reſolution, notwithſtanding all their remonſtrances, the electors deſired he would nominate the perſon he judged moſt proper, and aſſured him they would conform to his advice. Frederic long refuſed it, but at laſt being forced upon it by the preſſing inſtances of the electors, he declared in favour of the catholic king.

What we have here ſaid of ſovereign power may be applied to all poſts in the ſtate, and all offices of magiſtracy. The wiſeſt princes have ſet aſide the ambitious, and raiſed ſuch as declined employments. " [*b*] They ſaw, notwithſtanding the darkneſs of infi- " delity, that the republic could only be truſted with " ſecurity to ſuch as had merit enough to fear the " adminiſtration of it." And they enquired with ſo much care after perſons worthy of the great offices of ſtate, that they found men to whom it was neceſſary to uſe violence, before they would accept of them, as Pliny obſerves of Trajan.

All theſe examples prove, that there is nothing really great in honours and dignities, but the danger which ſurrounds them; that true glory conſiſts in

[*a*] Vie de Charles V. par Leti. [*b*] Lamp. in vit. Alex. Sever.

knowing

knowing how to look upon them with a generous contempt, or in accepting them only for the public good; that ſolid greatneſs conſiſts in renouncing greatneſs itſelf; that a man becomes a ſlave from the moment he is fond of it, and that he is ſuperior to it only when he contemns it.

VI. VICTORIES. NOBILITY *of* BLOOD. ABILITIES. REPUTATION.

I join all theſe under one title, though very different in themſelves, becauſe they have all ſomething in them extremely flattering and deluſive, and ſeem to have ſomewhat more directly perſonal and peculiar to their poſſeſſors. But though they are far ſuperior to the advantages already ſpoken of, yet ſolid Glory and real Greatneſs do not however conſiſt in them.

VICTORIES.

If there be any thing capable of exalting man above his nature, and giving him a ſuperiority that diſtinguiſhes him from the reſt of mankind, it ſeems to be the glory which reſults from battles and victories. A prince, a general, marching at the head of a numerous army, whoſe eyes are all bent upon him; who by a ſingle ſignal actuates that vaſt body, of which himſelf is the ſoul, and ſets an hundred thouſand arms in motion; who carries terror and conſternation along with him wherever he goes; who ſees the ſtrongeſt ramparts and higheſt towers fall down before him; at whoſe preſence, in a word, the whole univerſe trembling and affrighted keeps ſilence; ſuch a man ſeems to be ſomething mighty grand, and to come very near the Divinity.

And yet if we coolly, rationally, and without prejudice examine the famous heroes of antiquity, thoſe illuſtrious conquerors, we ſhall often find, that this glittering ſhew of warlike actions is but a vain phantom, which may impoſe upon us at a diſtance, but diſappears and vaniſhes in proportion as we approach it;

it; and that all this pretended glory has often had no other principle and foundation, but ambition, avarice, injuſtice and cruelty.

This Seneca obſerves of the greateſt warriors, and ſuch as have had the largeſt ſhare in the admiration of all ages. We find, [c] ſays he, abundance of heroes, who have carried fire and ſword into many nations, have ſtormed towns which till their time were held impregnable, have conquered and ravaged vaſt provinces, and marched to the utmoſt limits of the earth, covered over with the blood of all oppoſers. But theſe conquerors of ſo many nations were themſelves overcome by their paſſions. They found nobody that could reſiſt them, but were themſelves unable to reſiſt their own ambition and cruelty.

Can we call the furious diſpoſition of Alexander, which led him into diſtant and unknown countries, only with a view to plunder them, by any other name than madneſs? Was he wiſe, for depriving every private man, every country, of what was moſt dear and valuable, and for ſpreading deſolation wherever he came, beginning with Greece, to which he owed his education? How intoxicated muſt he have been with glory, who thought the whole world too little for him? [d] He one day aſked a pirate, whom he had taken, what right he thought he had to infeſt the ſeas: "The ſame, anſwered he, boldly, that you "have to overrun the world. But becauſe I do it in "a ſmall veſſel, I am called a robber; and you are "named a conqueror, for doing it with a great fleet." A very ſharp anſwer, and what is more, a true one.

[e] What was it that extinguiſhed in the heart of Cæſar, all the ſentiments of fidelity, ſubmiſſion, juſtice,

[c] Senec. Ep. 94.

[d] Eleganter & veraciter Alexandro illi Magno quidam comprehenſus pirata reſpondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogaſſet, quid ei videretur, ut mare haberet infeſtum; ille libera contumacia. Quod tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor; quia tu magna claſſe, imperator. A fragment of Tully's third book de Republ. quoted by S. Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 4.

[e] Quid C. Cæſarem in ſua fata pariter ac publica immiſit? Gloria &

tice, humanity, and gratitude he owed to his republic, which had choſen him from the reſt of the citizens, to advance him to the higheſt command, and laviſh upon him its honours and dignities, but an immoderate ambition, and an illuſion of falſe glory, which inſpired him with an ardent deſire of ſeeing all mankind under ſubjection to himſelf, and induced him to ſay, that he would rather chuſe to be the principal man in a village, than the ſecond in Rome? What other motive induced him to turn thoſe very arms againſt his country, ſhe had put into his hands to be employed againſt the enemies of the ſtate, and to make uſe of all the power and greatneſs he held only from her, to put her to the ſword, after having deluged her in the blood of her children? [*f*] He doubtleſs thought, as Civilis the chief of the rebels, who endeavoured to ſhake off the Roman yoke, expreſſed it, that nothing was unlawful to a man when in arms, nor any body accountable for a victory; *victoriæ rationem non reddi.*

Every equitable and rational man, who ſhall read over attentively all the lives of the famous men among the Greeks and Romans, as they ſtand in Plutarch; if he examines and aſks his own heart the queſtion, will find that 'tis not Alexander or Cæſar he prefers before all the reſt; that they were neither the greateſt, nor the moſt accompliſhed, nor ſuch as did the moſt honour to human nature; and that he does not judge them to be moſt deſerving his eſteem, love, and veneration, nor of the juſt praiſes of poſterity.

Beſides, military valour often leaves the men, whom conqueſts have made famous, very weak and mean at other times, and with reference to other objects. [*g*] Made up of good and bad qualities, they ſtrive to appear great, when expoſed to open view; but return to their natural littleneſs, as ſoon as they

& ambitio, & nullus ſupra ceteros eminendi modus. Sen. Ep. 94.

[*f*] Tacit. hiſt. l. 4. c. 14.

[*g*] Malis boniſque artibus mixtus, &c. Palam laudares: ſecreta malè audiebant. Tacit. hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 10.

are

are left to themſelves, and the eyes of mankind taken off from them. 'Tis ſurpriſing when we ſee them alone and without armies, what a mighty difference there is between a general and a great man.

In order to their paſſing a right judgment upon theſe famous conquerors, 'tis neceſſary to teach youth carefully to diſtinguiſh what is valuable in them from what deſerves to be cenſured. In doing juſtice to their courage, activity, ability in buſineſs, and prudence, they muſt be blamed for frequently miſtaking the uſe they ſhould have made of thoſe great qualifications, and employing ſuch talents, as in themſelves are always eſtimable, to the gratification of their vices and paſſions, which ſhould have been made ſubſervient only to virtue. For want of diſtinguiſhing things ſo different, it is but too uſual to confound their real with their pretended motives, the private ends they propoſed to themſelves with the means of attaining them, and their abilities with the abuſe they have made of them, and by an error ſtill more pernicious, in ſuffering ourſelves to be too much carried away by their great actions, which have luſtre enough to conceal their vices and injuſtice, we pay them an entire and unexceptionable regard, and accuſtom inattentive perſons to place vice in the room of virtue, and highly commend what deſerves to be blamed. 'Tis the juſtice of the war, and the wiſdom of the conqueror alone, which can render a victory glorious and worthy our admiration. For it muſt be laid down as a principle, that glory and juſtice are inſeparable; [*h*] *Nihil honeſtum eſſe poteſt, quod juſtitiâ vocat*; and [*i*] if 'tis private paſſion, and not the public advantage, that puts us upon facing dangers, ſuch a diſpoſition does not deſerve the name of courage and reſolution, but ſhould rather be called ferocity and audaciouſneſs.

[*h*] Offic. lib. 1. n. 62.

[*i*] Animus paratus ad periculum, & ſua cupiditate, non utilitate communi impellitur, audaciæ potius nomen habeat, quam fortitudinis. Ibid. n. 63.

[*k*] A memorable ſpeech of the chevalier Bayard's, as he was dying, ſhews the truth of what I have here been ſpeaking. He had received a mortal wound, as he was fighting for his king, and was lying down at the foot of a tree. The conſtable duke de Bourbon, who was purſuing the army of the French, paſſing by, and knowing him, told him he was very much concerned to ſee a perſon of his merit in ſuch a condition. Captain Bayard anſwered him, *Sir, there is no concern due to me, for I die like an honeſt man: but I am concerned for you indeed, to ſee you fighting againſt your prince, your country, and your oath.* And ſhortly after he gave up the ghoſt. Now where lay the glory? on the ſide of the conqueror, or was not the fate of the dying perſon far preferable to his?

NOBILITY *of* BIRTH.

It muſt be owned there is a powerful charm [*l*] in nobility of birth and the antiquity of families, to procure eſteem, and gain upon the inclinations of mankind. This reſpect which it is natural to have for nobility, [*m*] is a kind of homage we think ourſelves ſtill obliged to pay to the memory of their anceſtors for the great ſervices they have done the ſtate, and is the continued payment of a debt, which could not fully be diſcharged to them in perſon; and for this reaſon extends to all their poſterity.

[*n*] Beſides the tie of gratitude, which engages us not to limit our reſpect for great men to the time wherein they live, as they do not themſelves confine their zeal to ſuch narrow bounds, but ſtrive to become uſeful to future ages; [*o*] the public intereſt

[*k*] Hiſt. du cheval. Bayard.

[*l*] Erat hominum opinioni nobilitate ipſa, blanda conciliatricula, commendatus. Cic. pro Sext. n. 21.

[*m*] Qua in oratione plerique hoc perficiunt, ut tantum majoribus eorum debitum eſſe videatur, unde etiam, quod poſteris ſolveretur, redundaret. De leg. Agr. ad popul. n. 1.

[*n*] Senec. de Benef. lib. 4. cap. 30.

[*o*] Omnes boni ſemper nobilitati favemus, & quia utile eſt reipublicæ nobiles homines eſſe dignos majoribus ſuis, & quia valet apud nos clarorum hominum, & bene de republica meritorum, memoria etiam mortuorum. Cic. pro Sext. n. 21.

requires,

requires, that we ſhould pay this tribute of honour and regard to their deſcendants, as it is an engagement to them to ſupport and perpetuate the reputation of their anceſtors in their family, by endeavouring to perpetuate alſo the ſame virtues, which have rendered their predeceſſors ſo illuſtrious.

But to make this honour, which is paid to nobility, a real homage, it muſt be voluntary, and proceed from the heart. The moment it is claimed as a debt, or forcibly demanded, the right to it is loſt, and it changes into hatred and contempt. People are too well pleaſed with themſelves not to be offended at the haughtineſs of a man, who thinks every thing is due to him becauſe he is well born, and looks down from the height of his rank with contempt upon the reſt of mankind. For what mighty glory is it in reality to reckon up a long ſeries of anceſtors, illuſtrious by their virtues, without bearing any reſemblance to them? Is the merit of others transferred upon us? [*p*] Or will a large collection of family pictures, hung round a hall, make a man conſiderable? If the honour of families conſiſts in being able to trace back their pedigree to diſtant ages, till they loſe themſelves in the darkneſs of an obſcure and unknown antiquity, [*q*] we are all equally noble in this reſpect; for we had all an original equally ancient.

* We muſt therefore return to the only ſource of true nobility, which is virtue and merit. [*r*] Nobles have been ſeen to diſhonour their name by low and abject vices, and perſons of mean extraction have advanced and ennobled their families by great qualities. It is honourable to ſupport the glory of one's anceſtors, by actions which correſpond with their reputation; and it is alſo glorious to leave a title to one's deſcendants, which is not borrowed from our predeceſſors; to become the head and author of our own nobility;

[*p*] Non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumoſis imaginibus... Animus facit nobilem. Senec. Ep. 44.

[*q*] Eadem omnibus principia, eademque origo. Nemo altero nobilior, niſi cui rectius ingenium, & artibus bonis aptius. Senec. lib. 3. de benef. cap. 28.

* Nobilitas ſola eſt atque unica virtus. Juv. l. 3. ſat. 8.

[*r*] Senec. controv. 6. l. 1.

and, to use the expression of Tiberius, who was desirous of hiding the defect of birth in Curtius Rufus, though otherwise a very great man, [s] *to be born of one's own self.*

"I cannot," said formerly an illustrious Roman, who was reproached by the nobility for his low extraction, "publicly produce the statues of my ancestors, their triumphs, nor their consulships; but "if need be, I can produce the military rewards I "have been honoured with; I can shew the wounds "I have received in fighting for my country. [t] "These are my statues, these my title to nobility, "which I have not borrowed from my ancestors, but "acquired by the labours and dangers I have undergone."

[u] There was at Rome, in the beginning of the republic, a kind of open war between the nobility and the people. The nobles at first thought themselves dishonoured by marrying into a plebeian family. They looked upon themselves as another species of men. It seemed as if they could not bear that the populace should breathe the same air with them, or enjoy the same benefit of the sun's light. And they had set such a barrier between the people and honours, that merit was scarce able afterwards to break through it. There always remained something of this opposition and antipathy between the two orders; and Sallust observes, speaking of Metellus, that his excellent qualities were sullied and tarnished by an air of haughtiness and contempt; a fault, says he, which is but too usual among the nobility. [x] *Cui quanquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus & superbia, commune nobilitatis malum.*

We should therefore consider, that the nobility arising from birth, is by far inferior to that which proceeds from merit; and to be convinced of it we

[s] Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus. Tacit. ann. l. 11.

[t] Hæc sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego plurimis meis laboribus & periculis quæsivi. Sallust. in bell. Jugurth.

[u] Liv. l. 4. n. 3.

[x] Sallust. in bell. Jugurth.

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need only compare them together. [y] Pope Clement VIII. made a promotion of several cardinals, and among the rest he advanced two Frenchmen, M. d'Ossat, and the count de la Chapelle, who afterwards took the name of cardinal de Sourdis, from the estate of his family; the former, a man *in whom the pope found nothing wanting but a descent from a better family*, he was so well supplied with every other qualification; and the other a person that had nothing but his family to recommend him. Which of these two would one chuse to resemble most?

[z] Cardinal Granville, speaking of cardinal Ximenes, was wont to say, *That time had oft concealed the original of great men under the veils of oblivion; that he (for instance) was doubtless sprung from royal blood, or at least he had the heart of a king in the person of a private man.*

But if it shews a greatness of soul to overlook our own nobility, and not suffer it to gain the ascendant over our actions; we may likewise observe that it is no less great in such as have raised themselves by merit, not to forget the meanness of their extraction, nor to be ashamed of it.

[a] Vespasian did not only not seek to hide it, but would often glory in it; and publicly made a jest of those, who by a false genealogy, would have derived his pedigree from Hercules.

[b] The same emperor, without being ashamed of an object which continually renewed the remembrance of his original, went constantly every year, even after he came to the empire, to pass his summer in a small country-house near Rieti, where he was born, and to which he would never make any addition or embellishment. [c] His son Titus caused himself to be carried thither in his last illness, that he might die in the place where his father had begun and ended his

[y] Vie du card. d'Ossat, par M. Amelot.
[z] Hist. de Ximen. par M. Flechier, liv. 6.
[a] Suet. in vit. Vesp. c. 12.
[b] Ibid. c. 2.
[c] Suet. vit. Tit. c. 11.

days. [d] Pertinax, the greateſt man of his age, and ſoon after advanced to the empire, during the three years he tarried in Liguria, lodged in his father's houſe; and raiſing a great number of fine buildings around it, he left the [e] cottage in the midſt, an illuſtrious monument of his low birth, and his greatneſs of ſoul. One would think that theſe princes affected to recal the memory of their former condition, ſo much the greatneſs of their perſonal merit (ſenſible it could ſuſtain itſelf) was above any outward ſupport. In ſhort, we do not ſee throughout the whole Roman empire, that any body ever reproached them with the obſcurity of their original, or abated one tittle of the veneration due to their virtues upon this account.

[f] Pope Benedict XII. was the ſon of a miller, whence he came to be called the *White Cardinal*. He never forgot his former condition; and when he was upon marrying his niece, he refuſed to give her to the great lords who ſued for her, and married her to a tradeſman. He ſaid the popes ſhould be like Melchiſedek, without relations; and often uſed theſe words of the prophet, [g] *If they that belong to me get not dominion, I ſhall be undefiled, and innocent from the great offence.*

[h] John de [i] Brogni, cardinal de Viviers, who preſided at the council of Conſtance as dean of the cardinals, had been a hog-driver in his infancy. Some monks paſſing by as he was buſied in that ſorry employment, and taking notice of his wit and vivacity, offered to carry him to Rome, and bring him up to ſtudy. The boy accepted of their offer, and went ſtraight to a ſhoemaker to buy a pair of ſhoes for his journey; the ſhoemaker truſted him with part of the price, and told him ſmiling, he ſhould pay the reſt when he was made a cardinal. He became a cardinal in reality, and was not only not unmindful of his for-

[d] Capitolin. vit. Pert.
[e] Tabernam.
[f] Dict. de Moreri.
[g] Pſ. xix. 13.
[h] Hiſt. du conc. de Conſtance, par J. l'Infant.
[i] Brogni is a village near Anneci, between Chamberi and Geneva.

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mer low condition, but took care to perpetuate the memory of it. In a chapel he built at [k] Geneva, over-againſt the gate of St. Peter's church, he cauſed this adventure to be carved in ſtone, where he is repreſented young and without ſhoes, keeping hogs under a tree; and all around the wall are the figures of ſhoes, to expreſs the favour he had received from the ſhoemaker. This monument is ſtill ſubſiſting at Geneva.

TALENTS *of the* MIND.

How ſplendid ſoever the glory of arms and birth may appear, there is ſtill ſomething which more nearly concerns us, which we derive from learning and the Talents of the Mind. This ſeems to be more immediately our own, and entirely peculiar to us. It is not limited like that of arms to certain times and occaſions, nor depends upon a thouſand foreign aſſiſtances. It gives a man a ſuperiority far more agreeable than that which proceeds from riches, birth, or employments, as theſe are all external; whereas the mind is properly our own, or rather is ourſelves, and conſtitutes our very eſſence.

Yet it is not the mind alone in which the ſolid Glory of man conſiſts. Suppoſe him excellent in himſelf, and adorned with the knowledge of every thing that is moſt curious and exquiſite in the ſciences, philoſophy, mathematics, hiſtory, the *belles lettres*, poetry and eloquence. All theſe makes a man learned, but do not make him good. [l] *Non faciunt bonos iſta, ſed doctos.* And if a man be only learned, what is he very often but a vain, obſtinate creature, full of himſelf, and deſpiſing all others, and in one word, an *animal of glory?* For thus Tertullian deſcribes the moſt learned among the heathen, *animal gloriæ.*

Can any thing be more pitiful, or more contemptible, than ſuch a man, vainly puffed up with the no-

[k] He was for ſome time biſhop of that ſee.

[l] Senec. Ep. 106.

tion of his own learning and abilities, greedy and insatiable after praiſe, feeding upon wind and ſmoke, and ſtriving only to live in the opinion of others? [*m*] Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, beautifully expoſed the ridicule of this character in a phyſician named Menecrates, who had the vanity to take upon himſelf the ſurname of *Jupiter Servator*, upon account of ſome extraordinary cures he had wrought, which he attributed wholly to his own ſkill. Having invited him to dinner, he was placed at table by himſelf, on which was ſerved up a veſſel ſmoaking with incenſe. The doctor at firſt thought himſelf highly honoured, but having nothing to eat during the reſt of the entertainment, he ſoon perceived the meaning of the ſmoke of the incenſe; and thus ſerving for a laughing-ſtock to the reſt of the company, he went away hungry from the feaſt with the title of Jupiter, and the ſhame he had ſo juſtly deſerved, in aſcribing to his own abilities a ſucceſs derived from heaven.

The honour, therefore, which ſcience and genius confers, does not reſult merely from learning, and the Talents of the Mind, but the good uſe made of them; and we may truly ſay, that modeſty exalts their luſtre and value infinitely more than any thing elſe. It is a pleaſure to ſee great men ſometimes owning themſelves in the wrong, as the famous [*n*] Hippocrates has done in relation to one of the ſutures of the ſkull, about which he had been led into a miſtake. Such a confeſſion, [*o*] as Celſus obſerves, referring to the paſſage I am ſpeaking of, argues an uncommon fund of merit in the perſon that makes it, and an elevation of ſoul which is very ſenſible that ſuch ſlips are not capable of being any prejudice to it; whereas a little mind, which cannot diſguiſe its poverty, is care-

[*m*] Ælian. l. 12. c. 51. Athen. l. 7. c. 10.

[*n*] Lib. ἐπιδημιῶν ε.

[*o*] De futuris ſe deceptum eſſe Hippocrates memoriæ prodedit, more magnorum virorum, & fiduciam magnarum rerum habentium. Nam levia ingenia, quia nihil habent, nihil ſibi detrahunt. Magno ingenio, multaque nihilominus habituro, convenit etiam veri erroris ſimplex confeſſio. Celſ. l. 8. c. 4.

ful

ful to run no riſque, nor willingly to loſe the ſmalleſt ſhare of the little it poſſeſſes.

It is a pleaſure alſo to ſee learned men diſputing without bitterneſs, anger, or paſſion, as Tully tells us, he was diſpoſed to do: [p] *Nos & refellere ſine pertinacia, & refelli ſine iracundia, parati ſumus.* Our age has furniſhed us with ſeveral inſtances of this virtue; but had we no other than F. Mabillon, he would do infinite honour to literature. In his diſputes with the famous abbé de la Trape, his mildneſs and moderation, as we all know, gave him a great advantage over his adverſary. There was another, who was able to diſpute with him as well in point of modeſty as learning; this was F. Papebrochius, who gave occaſion to his writing his book *de re diplomatica.*

"I own," ſays this learned jeſuit, in a Latin letter he wrote to F. Mabillon upon this ſubject, which he gave him leave to publiſh, "that I have no other ſatisfac-
"tion in having written upon this matter, than that
"of having given you an opportunity of drawing up
"ſo accurate a performace. It is true at firſt I found
"ſome uneaſineſs, upon reading your book, to ſee
"myſelf confuted in ſuch a manner, as I knew not
"how to anſwer; but the uſefulneſs and beauty of
"ſo valuable a work ſoon conquered my weakneſs;
"and overjoyed to ſee the truth ſet in ſo clear a light,
"I invited my companion in ſtudy to ſhare with me
"in my admiration. For which reaſon, make no
"ſcruple, as often as you have opportunity, to de-
"clare publicly, that I am wholly of your opinion."

There is an artificial and ſtudied modeſty, which covers a ſecret pride; but here we have an ingenuous ſimplicity, which ſhews plainly it came from the heart. I cannot finiſh what I have to ſay upon F. Mabillon, without taking notice that the late archbiſhop of Rheims (le Tellier) preſenting him to king Lewis XIV. ſaid to him thus, *Sir, I have the honour to preſent to your majeſty, the moſt learned and moſt modeſt monk in your kingdom.*

[p] Acad. Quæſt. l. 2. n. 5.

Another character ſtill, which is very amiable in a man of learning, is to be always ready to let others ſhare in his labours, to communicate his remarks to them, to aſſiſt them with his reflections, and to contribute to the utmoſt of his power to the perfection of their works. I queſtion whether any one ever carried this point farther than M. de Tillemont. His collections and extracts, which were the fruit of many years labour, became the property of every one that had occaſion for them. He was never afraid, as is too uſual amongſt men of learning, that his works ſhould loſe the merit of invention, or the grace of novelty, by being ſhewn to others before they were publiſhed. And the ſame praiſe is due to [q] M. d'Herouval. Though a contempt of glory and vain reputation prevented him from publiſhing any thing himſelf, yet his zeal for the public good gave him a ſhare in almoſt all the works that were ſent abroad in his time, by his communicating to the authors his diſcoveries, his obſervations, and his manuſcripts.

REPUTATION.

This is looked upon as the deareſt and moſt valuable treaſure belonging to mankind, even by perſons of the greateſt probity; and an indifference concerning it, and much more the deſpiſing it, ſeem abſolutely not to be admitted. [r] What can be expected indeed from one that is unconcerned about the judgment which the reſt of the world, and eſpecially men of honeſty, ſhall paſs upon his conduct? 'Tis not only, as Tully obſerves, the ſign of unſupportable pride and conceitedneſs, but the mark of having perfectly abandoned all modeſty.

And yet to be over-ſolicitous after praiſe, to be greedy of it, and eager in purſuing it, and to ſeem in ſome meaſure to beg it, inſtead of being the character

[q] Ant. de Vion, auditeur des comptes.

[r] Adhibenda eſt quædam reverentia & optimi cujuſque, & reliquorum. Nam negligere quid de ſe quiſque ſentiat, non ſolum arrogantis eſt, ſed etiam omnino diſſoluti. Offic. l. 1, n. 99.

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of a great ſoul, is the moſt certain ſign of a vain and light diſpoſition, which feeds upon wind, and takes the ſhadow for the ſubſtance.

Yet this is the weakneſs of the moſt part of mankind, and ſometimes even of ſuch as are diſtinguiſhed by peculiar merit, which induces them often to ſeek for glory where it is not to be found.

[*s*] Philip of Macedon was not the moſt ſcrupulous in his choice of the means, which were to procure him a ſolid Reputation. He was fond of every kind of glory, and on every kind of occaſion. He was, as an orator, vain of his eloquence. He reckoned upon the victories his chariots had gained in the Olympic games, and took great care to have them engraved on his coins. He gave leſſons in muſic, and undertook to correct the maſters of it; which occaſioned one of them to make that ingenuous anſwer, which, without offence, was very capable of ſhewing him his error: *God forbid, Sir, you ſhould ever be ſo unhappy as to know theſe matters better than I do.* He himſelf gave a like leſſon to his ſon for having ſhewn too much ſkill in muſic at an entertainment; *Are you not aſhamed*, ſays he to him, *that you can ſing ſo well?* In ſhort, there are certain branches of knowledge, which are very commendable in private perſons, whoſe only buſineſs is to follow them, that a prince ought but ſlightly to be acquainted with, as it would be beneath his dignity to affect a greater ſkill in them, and as his time ought to be taken up in matters of greater weight and importance. [*t*] Nero, who did not want for wit and ſpirit, was blamed for neglecting the occupations proper to his ſtation, and amuſing himſelf with engraving, painting, ſinging, and driving of chariots. A prince, who has a taſte of true glory, does not aſpire to ſuch a Reputation. He underſtands what it is deſerves his application, and from what he ſhould abſtain; and how great an inclination ſoever he may

[*s*] Plut. in vit. Alex.

[*t*] Nero puerilibus ſtatim annis vividum animum in alia detorſit; cælare, & pingere, cantus, aut regimen equorum exercere. Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 3.

have for the ſciences, even the moſt valuable, he does not give himſelf up entirely to them, but ſtudies them like a prince, with that ſober and diſcreet moderation, which [*u*] Tacitus admired in his father-in-law Agricola, *Retinuit, quod eſt difficillimum, ex ſapientia modum.*

[*x*] Tully finds a pitiful vanity in the ſecret joy which Demoſthenes felt upon hearing himſelf praiſed by a poor herb-woman, as he was paſſing by. And yet he himſelf was much fonder of commendation than the Greek orator.

[*y*] This he freely owns upon an occaſion where he ſurpriſingly deſcribes the effects of human weakneſs. He was returning from Sicily, where he had been quæſtor, with a ſtrong imagination that nothing was talked of in Italy but himſelf, and that his quæſtorſhip was the ſubject of every tongue. Paſſing by Puzzoli, whither the baths had drawn abundance of company, Is it long, ſays ſomebody to him, ſince you left Rome? Pray what is doing there? I, ſays he, in great ſurpriſe, am juſt come from my province. That's true, ſays the other, I beg pardon, from Africa. No, anſwers Tully, with an air of ſcorn and indignation, from Sicily. Why, ſays a third, who pretended to know more than the reſt, don't you know that he has been quæſtor at Syracuſe? where indeed he had not, for his province lay in a different part of the iſland. Tully was quite out of countenance, and to get rid of the affair, threw himſelf into the crowd, and ſo marched off: and this adventure, he adds, was more uſeful to him, than all the compliments he had expected could have been.

And yet it does not appear, that he was leſs fond of praiſe afterwards, than he had been before. All the world knows how carefully he laid hold of every opportunity to talk of himſelf, ſo as to become inſupportable. But nothing lets us more into his character than his [*z*] letter to the hiſtorian Lucceius, in which he openly and ingenuouſly diſcovers his weakneſs in

[*u*] Vit. Agric. c. 4.
[*x*] Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 5. n. 103.
[*y*] Cic. Orat. pro Planc. n. 64, 66.
[*z*] Ep. 12. lib. 5.

this

this particular. He preſſed him to write the hiſtory of his conſulſhip, and publiſh it in his life-time; to the end, ſaid he, that I may be the better known, and perſonally enjoy my glory and reputation, *ut & cæteri viventibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoſcant, & noſmet ipſi vivi gloriola noſtra perfruamur.* He importunes him not to keep ſcrupulouſly to the ſtrict laws of hiſtory, but to make ſome allowances to friendſhip, even at the expence of truth, and not be afraid of ſpeaking more to his advantage than perhaps he thought was due. *Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut & ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortaſſe ſentis, & in eo leges hiſtoriæ negligas . . . amorique noſtro pluſculum etiam, quam concedit veritas, largiaris.*

Such are almoſt all mankind, and often without perceiving it themſelves. For, to hear Tully talk, he was as remote as poſſible from any ſuch weakneſs. [*a*] *Nihil eſt in me inane*, ſays he to Brutus, *neque enim debet.* No body, [*b*] ſays he again in a letter to Cato, was ever leſs fond of commendation and the vain applauſes of the people, than I am. *Si quiſquam fuit unquam remotus, & natura, & magis etiam (ut mihi quidem ſentire videor) ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude & ſermonibus vulgi, ego is ſum.*

To comprehend the better how little and mean this vanity is, we need but open our eyes, and conſider how great and noble is the oppoſite conduct. A few choice articles, which I ſhall here propoſe, will ſet the matter in a clear light.

I. *To bear* PRAISE *with* PAIN, *and to* SPEAK *of one's ſelf with* MODESTY.

This virtue, which ſeems to throw a veil over the moſt glorious actions, and is careful only to conceal them, ſerves to ſet them off the more, and give them a greater luſtre.

Niger, who took the title of emperor in the eaſt, refuſed the panegyric they would have ſpoke in his

[*a*] Ad Brut. ep. 3. [*b*] Ep. 4. lib. 15. ad Famil.

praiſe,

praiſe, and made himſelf the more deſerving of it by his motives for refuſing it. Make, ſays he, a panegyric upon the commanders of old, that what they have done may teach us what we ſhould do. For it is a jeſt to ſpeak in praiſe of a man that is alive, and eſpecially a prince; it is not to commend him for doing well, but to flatter him in hopes of a reward. For my own part, I ſhould chuſe to be beloved whilſt I live, and praiſed when I am dead.

"Thoſe, [c] (ſays M. Nicole in his moral eſſays) "who have heard the two greateſt officers of this age "(M. le Prince, and M. de Turenne) talk of the war, "have always been raviſhed with the modeſty of their "diſcourſe. No body ever obſerved the leaſt word to "fall from them upon this ſubject, which could be "ſuſpected of vanity. They have been ever ſeen to "do juſtice to all the world beſides, and never to "themſelves; and one would often imagine, when "they heard them give an account of battles, in which "their valour and conduct had the greateſt ſhare, "either that they had not been preſent, or that they "had been only idle ſpectators. Thoſe perſons, "whom we ſee ſo full of the occaſions wherein they "have ſignalized themſelves, as to deafen all the "world with their accounts of them, as in the caſe "of Cicero's conſulſhip, do thereby ſhew, that virtue is ſcarce natural to them, and that they have "been obliged to take a great deal of pains to work "up their ſouls to the condition they are ſo glad to "appear in. But there is far more greatneſs in making no reflection upon our greateſt actions, ſo that "they may ſeem to fall from us with no conſtraint, "and ſpring ſo naturally from the diſpoſition of our "ſouls, that it does not obſerve them."

II. *Heartily to* CONTRIBUTE *to the* REPUTATION *of* OTHERS.

[d] Scipio Africanus, that he might procure his brother the command in the important war which was

[c] Second traité de la charité & de l'amour propre, ch. 5.

[d] Liv. l. 37.

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to be made againſt Antiochus the Great, engaged to ſerve under him, as one of his lieutenants. In this ſubaltern poſt, he was ſo far from endeavouring to divide the honour of the victory with his brother, that he made it both a duty and a pleaſure to leave the glory of it entirely to him, and to make him his equal in every reſpect, by the defeat of an enemy no leſs formidable than Hannibal; and by the title of Aſiaticus, as glorious as that of Africanus.

[e] M. Aurelius, from a like delicacy, and as generous a diſregard of glory, denied himſelf the pleaſure of attending upon his daughter Lucilla into the eaſt, whom he married to Lucius Verus, at that time engaged in the war with Parthia, leſt his preſence ſhould check the growing reputation of his ſon-in-law, and ſeem to draw upon himſelf the honour of putting an end to that important war to the other's prejudice.

We know with what fidelity and ſubmiſſion [f] Cyrus referred all the glory of his exploits to his uncle and father-in-law Cyaxeres; with what carefulneſs [g] Agricola, who completed the conqueſt of Britain, honoured his ſuperiors with all his ſucceſſes; and with what modeſty he gave up part of his own reputation to advance theirs.

[h] Plutarch gives an account of the moderation of his conduct in the diſcharge of the commiſſion he was entruſted with by his own city, who had ſent him as their deputy to the proconſul of the province. His collegue being obliged to ſtay behind by the way, he diſcharged the commiſſion alone, and ſucceeded in it. At his return, when upon the point of giving a public account of his deputation, his father adviſed him not to ſpeak of himſelf in his own name as ſingle, but as though his collegue had been preſent, and they had concerted and executed the whole together. And his motive for giving him this wiſe advice was, becauſe

[e] Vit. M. Aurel.
[f] Xenoph. in Cyrop.
[g] Tacit. in vit. Agric.
[h] Plut. in præc. reip. ger.

[i] ſuch

[*i*] ſuch a procedure was not only equitable and humane, but would leſſen the glory of the ſucceſs, which uſually afflicts and enflames envy.

[*k*] What Tully ſays of the perfect union which ſubſiſted betwixt him and Hortenſius, and the mutual care they took to aſſiſt one another at the bar, to communicate reciprocally what they knew, and to promote each other's credit, is a very rare example in perſons of the ſame profeſſion, and at the ſame time very worthy of imitation. [*l*] An hiſtorian obſerves, that Atticus their common friend was the band of this intimate union; and it was by his means that the emulation of glory, in theſe two famous orators, was not impaired by any mean ſentiments of envy and jealouſy.

[*m*] Lelius, the intimate friend of the ſecond Scipio, had twice pleaded in a very important cauſe, and the judges had twice ordered a more ample enquiry. The parties exhorting him not to be diſcouraged, he perſuaded them to put their affair into the hands of Galba, who was a fitter perſon than he to plead for them, as he ſpoke with more force and vehemence. In ſhort, Galba, at a ſingle hearing, carried all the voices, and abſolutely gained his cauſe. Such a diſintereſted diſpoſition in point of reputation muſt be owned to have ſomething very great in it. But, ſays Cicero, it was then cuſtomary to do juſtice to another's merit without ſcruple. *Erat omnino tum mos, ut faciles eſſent in ſuum cuique tribuendo.*

I have always admired the ingenuity and candour of Virgil, who was under no apprehenſion, by introducing Horace to Mæcenas, of raiſing himſelf a rival, that might contend with him for wit and genius; and if not entirely carry away, at leaſt divide with him the favours and good graces of their common protec-

[*i*] Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπιεικὲς τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ φιλάνθρωπόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λυποῦν τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιρεῖ τῆς δόξης.

[*k*] Semper alter ab altero adjutus, & communicando, & monendo, & favendo. Brut. n. 3.

[*l*] Efficiebat, ut inter quos tanta laudis eſſet æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio, eſſetque talium virorum copula. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attic. cap. 5.

[*m*] De clar. orat. n. 85—88.

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tor. But, says Horace, we do not live thus at Mæcenas's. Never was house more removed from such mean sentiments than his, nor a purer and more noble manner of living any where practised. The merit and credit of one never gives offence to another. Every one has his place, and is content with it.

Non isto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hâc nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mî officit unquam,
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior. Est locus uni
Cuique suus [*n*].

III. *To* SACRIFICE *his own* REPUTATION *for the* GOOD *of the* PUBLIC.

[*o*] There are some occasions, in which an honest man is obliged to sacrifice his reputation to preserve his virtue; to give up his glory for a time, that he may not part with his conscience, and march with a firm resolution where duty calls him amidst reproach and infamy, by courageously despising the contempt thrown upon him. Nothing is a greater sign of a steady adherence to virtue, than a sacrifice so generous, and at the same time so repugnant to human nature.

[*p*] Plutarch observes that Pericles, at a time when all the citizens were crying out against him, and blaming his conduct, like an able pilot, who in a storm regards only the rules of his art for saving the ship, and overlooks the cries, lamentations and prayers of all around him; that Pericles, I say, after having taken all possible precaution for the security of the state, pursued his own scheme, without troubling himself about the murmurs, complainings, threats, injurious bal-

[*n*] Horat. sat. 6. lib. 1.

[*o*] Æquissimo animo ad honestum consilium per mediam infamiam tendam. Nemo mihi videtur pluris æstimare virtutem, nemo illi magis esse devotus, quàm qui boni viri famam perdidit, ne conscientiam perderet. Senec. Ep. 81.

Æquo animo audienda sunt imperitorum convicia, & ad honesta vadenti contemnendus est iste contemptus. Id. Ep. 76.

[*p*] In vit. Pericl.

lads,

lads, railleries, inſults, and accuſations thrown out againſt him.

[q] 'Twas a good piece of advice the wiſe Fabius gave to the conſul Paulus Æmilius, as he was ſetting out for the army. He exhorted him to deſpiſe the railleries and unjuſt reproaches of his collegue, to be above any reports that might be raiſed to his prejudice, and diſregard all the pains that might be taken to diſgrace or diſhonour him.

Fabius himſelf acted in the ſame manner in the war againſt Hannibal, and ſaved the commonwealth. Notwithſtanding the great inſult he received from Minucius, he reſcued him from the hands of Hannibal, [r] ſetting aſide his reſentment, and conſulting only his zeal for the public good.

Theſe examples are well known, but are ſcarce followed by any body in theſe days. Men are not attached to the ſtate by any real ties; they often ſerve the public out of a view to their private intereſt. Upon the leaſt diſguſt they quit the ſervice; and this diſguſt is often founded upon a falſe notion of honour, which takes offence at a very juſt preference. There are few who talk and think like the Lacedæmonian, that ſeeing himſelf left out of the new-erected council, ſaid, he was overjoyed to find there were three hundred better men in the city than himſelf.

VII. *Wherein* SOLID GLORY *and* REAL GREATNESS *conſiſt.*

Whatever is external to a man, whatever may be common to good and bad, does not make him truly eſtimable. We muſt judge of men by the heart. From thence proceed great deſigns, great actions, great virtues. Solid Glory, which cannot be imitated by pride, nor equalled by pomp, reſides in perſonal qualifica-

[q] Liv. lib. 22. n. 74.

[r] Habuit in conſilio fortunam publicam, dolorem ultionemque ſepoſuit. Senec. lib. 1. de ira, cap. 11.

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tions and noble ſentiments. To be good, liberal, beneficent, and generous; to value riches only for the ſake of diſtributing them, places of honour for the ſervice of our country, power and credit to be in a condition to ſuppreſs vice and reward virtue; to be really good without ſeeking to appear ſo; to bear poverty nobly, to ſuffer injuries and affronts with patience, to ſtifle reſentment, and to do every good office to an enemy when we have it in our power to be revenged of him; to prefer the public good to every thing, to ſacrifice our wealth, repoſe, life, and fame, if neceſſary to it: theſe make a man truly great and eſtimable.

Take away probity from the moſt ſhining actions, the moſt valuable qualities, and what are they but objects of contempt? Are the drunkenneſs of Alexander, the murder of his beſt friends, his inſatiable thirſt of praiſe and flattery, and his vanity in deſiring to paſs for the ſon of Jupiter, [*s*] though he did not believe it himſelf; are theſe conſiſtent with the character of a great prince? When we ſee Marius, and after him Sylla, ſhedding torrents of Roman blood for the eſtabliſhment of their own power, what regard can we pay their victories and triumphs?

On the other hand, when we hear the emperor Titus utter that celebrated expreſſion, [*t*] *My friends, I have loſt a day*, becauſe he had done good to nobody; [*u*] and another, upon being preſſed to ſign a warrant for execution, ſaying, *I wiſh I could not write*; or the emperor Theodoſius, after having ſet the priſoners at liberty on an Eaſter-day, *Would to God, I could alſo open the graves, and give life to the dead.* When we ſee a young Scipio courageouſly ſurmounting a paſſion, which ſubdues almoſt all mankind; and upon another occaſion giving lectures of continence and wiſdom to a young prince, who had ſwerved from

[*s*] Omnes, inquit Alexander, jurant me Jovis eſſe filium: ſed vulnus hoc hominem me eſſe clamat. Senec. Ep. 59.

[*t*] Amici, diem perdidi. Suet. in vit. Titi, n. 8.

[*u*] Vellem neſcire literas. Senec. l. 2. de clem.

his duty; when we see a tribune of the people, a declared enemy of this Scipio's, loudly to take upon him his defence against the unjust accusers, who had conspired his destruction; [x] and lastly, when we read in history any actions of liberality, generosity, disinterestedness, clemency, or forgetfulness of injuries, is it in our power to deny them our esteem and admiration, and do we not still find ourselves affected after so many ages with the bare recital of them?

Our history supplies us with abundance of beautiful expressions and actions of our kings, and many other great men, which shew us plainly wherein true Grandeur and solid Glory consist.

If sincerity and truth were banished the rest of the earth, [y] said John I. king of France, when solicited to break a treaty, *they ought to be found in the heart and mouth of kings.*

It belongs not, [z] says Lewis XII. to a courtier, who pressed him to punish a person that offended him before he came to the throne, *it belongs not to the king of France to revenge the injuries done to the duke of Orleans.*

[a] Francis I. after the battle of Pavia, wrote a letter to the regent his mother in these few words, *Madam, all is lost but our honour.* This was to think and write like a king indeed, who in comparison of his honour makes light of every thing beside.

[b] And when shameful conditions were demanded of him for his liberty, he ordered the emperor's agent to let his master know, that he was resolved rather to spend all his days in prison, than dismember his dominions; and to add, that though he should be so base as to do it, he was sure his subjects would never consent to it.

[x] Quis est tam dissimilis homini, qui non moveatur & offensione turpitudinis, & comprobatione honestatis? . . . An obliviscamur quantopere in audiendo legendoque moveamur, cum pie, cum amice, cum magno animo aliquid factum cognoscimus? Cic. l. 5. de fin. n. 62.

[y] Mezerai.

[z] Ibid.

[a] P. Daniel.

[b] Ibid.

[c] In-

[c] Inſtead of bearing ill-will to Francis de Montelon, who was the only lawyer of his time that ventured to plead in favour of Charles de Bourbon againſt Francis I. and Louiſa of Savoy his mother, he valued him the more for it, made him attorney-general, then preſident au Mortier, and at laſt keeper of the ſeals.

[d] As Henry IV. was reproached with the little power he had in Rochelle, *I do*, ſays he, *in that town whatever I pleaſe, by doing only what I ought.*

Our magiſtrates, upon ſeveral occaſions, have given proof of what [e] Tully ſays in his offices, that there is a domeſtic and private courage of no leſs value than military valour. [f] Achilles de Harlai, premier preſident, being threatened by the ſeditious with an immediate capital puniſhment, (theſe are the author's terms) *I have neither head nor life*, ſays he, *which I prefer to the love of God, the ſervice of my king, and the good of my country.* On the day of the barricade, he gave no other anſwer to the injurious threatnings of the authors of the league, than theſe commendable words; *My ſoul is God's, my heart the king's, and my body in the hands of violent men, to do with it what they pleaſe.* [g] When Buſſy le Clerc had the boldneſs to enter the grand-chamber, and read the liſt of thoſe he ſaid he had orders to arreſt, and named the premier preſident and ten or twelve more, all the reſt of the company roſe up, and generouſly followed them to the Baſtile.

'Tis well known that the premier preſident Molé, in a popular inſurrection, without any dread of loſing his life, went and ſhewed himſelf to the populace, and put a ſtop to the mutiny by his ſingle preſence.

'Tis of him that cardinal de Retz writes thus in his memoirs, "If it were not a kind of blaſphemy to ſay "there is one in our age more intrepid than the great "Guſtavus, and M. le Prince, I would ſay it was the "premier preſident Molé."

[c] Ste Marthe liv. 5. de ſes eloges.
[d] Hiſt. d'Aubigné.
[e] Sunt domeſticæ fortitudines, non inferiores militaribus. Offic. l. 1. n. 18.
[f] Hiſtoire des prem. preſ.
[g] Mezerai.

This reſolution is the leſs aſtoniſhing in the magiſtrates of a parliament, whoſe peculiar character is an inviolable fidelity to their kings, and an invincible courage in the greateſt dangers. But can we ſufficiently admire the extraordinary generoſity, which inſpired the townſmen of Calais with love to their country, and a view to the public good? The town reduced by famine to the laſt extremity, offered to capitulate. The king of England, [*b*] provoked at their holding out ſo long, refuſed them quarter, except upon this ſole condition, "That ſix of the principal townſmen, with their heads uncovered, their "feet bare, and halters about their necks, ſhould "bring him the keys of the town and caſtle in their "hands; that upon theſe he would execute his pleaſure, and receive the reſt to mercy." When they had aſſembled the town, one of the chiefeſt townſmen, named Euſtace de St. Pierre, began to ſpeak; and he ſpoke with a courage and reſolution, which would have done honour to the ancient Roman citizens in the days of the republic; he ſaid, that he offered himſelf to be the firſt victim for the ſafety of the reſt of the people, and that rather than ſee his fellow-countrymen periſh by hunger and the ſword, he would be one of the ſix that ſhould be given up to the king of England's vengeance. Five others, encouraged by his diſcourſe and example, offered themſelves with him. They were conducted in the equipage preſcribed, amidſt the confuſed cries and lamentations of the people. The king of England was inclined to execute them; but the queen, touched with compaſſion, and breaking out into tears, threw herſelf at his majeſty's feet, and obtained their pardon.

When the great Condé commanded the Spaniſh army in Flanders, and laid ſiege to one of our towns, a ſoldier being ill treated by a general officer, and ſtruck ſeveral times with a cane for ſome diſreſpect-

[*b*] F. Daniel.

ful

ful words he had let fall, anſwered very coolly, that he ſhould ſoon make him repent of it. Fifteen days after, the ſame general officer ordered the colonel of the trenches to find him out a bold and intrepid fellow in his regiment for a notable piece of work he wanted to be done, for which he promiſed a reward of a hundred piſtoles. The ſoldier we are ſpeaking of, who paſſed for the braveſt of the regiment, offered his ſervice, and taking with him thirty of his comrades, of whom the choice was left to himſelf, diſcharged his commiſſion, [*i*] which was a very hazardous one, with incredible courage and ſucceſs. Upon his return, the general officer highly commended him, and gave him the hundred piſtoles he had promiſed. The ſoldier preſently diſtributed them among his comrades, ſaying, he did not ſerve for pay, and demanded only that if his late action ſeemed to deſerve any recompence, they would make him an officer. *And, now Sir*, adds he to the general officer, who did not know him, *I am the ſoldier you ſo much abuſed fifteen days ago, and I told you, I would make you repent it.* The general officer in great admiration, and melting into tears, threw his arms around his neck, begged his pardon, and gave him a commiſſion that very day. The great Condé took a pleaſure in telling this ſtory, as the braveſt action in a ſoldier he had ever heard of. I had it from a perſon to whom M. le Prince, the great Condé's ſon, has often told it.

The ſame cannon-ball that killed M. Turenne, carried off an arm from M. St. Hilaire, lieutenant general of the artillery. His ſon breaking out into tears and lamentations, *Hold your tongue, child*, ſays he to him, and pointing to M. de Turenne, as he lay dead, *there's a proper ſubject for your tears.*

[*i*] The buſineſs was to know, before they made a lodgment, whether the enemy were undermining the glacis. The ſoldier as ſoon as it was night, throwing himſelf into the covered way, diſcharged his commiſſion ſo well, that he brought off the hat and inſtruments of one of the miners whom he had killed in the mine.

[*k*] I have already ſpoke of the famous Henry de Meſmes, one of the moſt illuſtrious magiſtrates of his time. The king, (Henry II. if I am not miſtaken) having offered him the place of advocate-general, he took the liberty to repreſent to his majeſty, that the place was not vacant. It is, anſwered the king, becauſe I am diſſatisfied with the perſon that fills it. *Excuſe me, Sir*, anſwered Henry de Meſmes, after having modeſtly ſpoke in defence of the perſon accuſed, *I had rather tear up the ground with my nails, than enter into that poſt through ſuch a gate.* The king gave ear to his remonſtrance, and continued the advocate general in his place; who coming the next day to thank him for the ſervices he had done him, Henry de Meſmes would ſcarce accept of his acknowledgments for doing what he ſaid was an indiſpenſible duty, and which he could not have omitted without diſgracing himſelf for ever.

A preſident à Mortier [*l*] had thoughts of quitting his poſt, in hopes of procuring it for his ſon. Lewis XIV. who had promiſed M. Peletier, then comptroller general, to give him the firſt that fell, offered him this. M. Peletier, after making his moſt humble acknowledgments, added, that the preſident who had quitted, had a ſon, and his majeſty had ever been well ſatisfied with the family. "I am not uſed to "be anſwered thus," replies the king, in ſurpriſe at his conduct and generoſity; "well, you ſhall have the "next then." Nor did he wait long for it; for within two years after, M. le preſident le Coignieux dying without a ſon, ſo noble a diſintereſtedneſs was rewarded.

And here I muſt aſk, when we read of ſuch a actions, can we poſſibly reſiſt the impreſſion they make upon our hearts. It is this voice and [*m*] teſtimony of an upright, ſtaunch, and pure nature, not yet cor-

[*k*] *Memoirés Manuſcrits*, quoted already in the firſt volume.

[*l*] Cl. Peleterii vita.

[*m*] Quæ diſciplina eò pertinebat, ut ſincera & integra, & nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuſcujuſque natura, toto ſtatim pectore arriperet artes honeſtas. Dialog. de oratoribus, cap. 28.

rupted

rupted by ill examples and bad principles, which ſhould be the rule of our judgments, and is in a manner the baſis of this Taſte for ſolid Glory and real Greatneſs I am now ſpeaking of. And it is our buſineſs to attend ſolely to this voice, conſult it in all things, and conform to its dictates.

I know very well that ſomething elſe is requiſite, beſides precepts and examples, to make a man thus ſuperior to the ſtrongeſt paſſions, and that God alone can inſpire him with theſe ſentiments of nobleneſs and grandeur, as the heathens themſelves inform us. [n] *Bonus vir ſine Deo nemo eſt. An poteſt aliquis ſupra fortunam, niſi ab illo adjutus, exurgere? Ille dat conſilia magnifica & erecta.* [o] But we cannot too much inculcate theſe principles into youth; and it were to be wiſhed they could never hear any other diſcourſe, and that theſe precepts were continually ſounded in their ears. [p] The principal fruit of hiſtory is to preſerve and invigorate thoſe ſentiments of probity and integrity we bring into the world with us; or, if we have ſwerved from them, to draw us back by degrees, and re-kindle in us thoſe precious ſparks, by frequent examples of virtue. [q] A maſter well ſkilled in directing the genius, which is the principal province, will omit no opportunity of inſtilling into his ſcholars the principles of honour and equity, and of exciting in them a ſincere love of virtue, and abhorrence of vice. [r] As they are of an age as yet tender and tractable, and corruption has not taken

[n] Senec. Ep. 41.

[o] Conducere arbitror talibus aures tuas vocibus undique circumſonare, nec eas, ſi fieri poſſet, quidquam aliud audire. Cic. lib. 3. offic. n. 5.

[p] Omnium honeſtarum rerum ſemina animi gerunt, quæ admonitione excitantur: non aliter quam ſcintilla flatu levi adjuta ignem ſuum explicat. Senec. Ep. 94.

Hæc eſt ſapientia, in naturam converti, & eò reſtitui, unde publicus error expulerit. Ibid.

[q] Civitatis rectorem decet . . . verbis, & his mollioribus, curare ingenia, ut facienda ſuadeat, cupiditatemque honeſti & æqui conciliet, animis, faciatque vitiorum odium, pretium virtutum. Sen. lib. 1. de ira, cap. 5.

[r] Facillime tenera conciliantur ingenia ad honeſti rectique amorem. Adhuc docilibus, leviterque corruptis, injicit manum veritas, ſi advocatum idoneum nacta eſt. Senec. Ep. 108.

deep root in them, the truth more eaſily finds entrance into their minds, and fixes itſelf there without difficulty, if ever ſo little aſſiſted by the maſter's wiſe reflections, and ſeaſonable counſels.

When, upon every point of hiſtory read to them, or at leaſt upon the brighteſt and moſt important, they are aſked what they think, what ſeems beautiful, great, and commendable, and on the contrary what blameable and contemptible, it ſeldom happens but youth anſwer juſtly and rationally, and paſs a ſound and equitable judgment upon whatever is propoſed to them. It is this anſwer, this judgment, which, as I have already ſaid, is in them the voice of nature and right reaſon, and cannot be ſuſpected becauſe not ſuggeſted, that becomes in them the rule of a good taſte with reſpect to ſolid Glory and true Greatneſs. When they ſee a Regulus expoſing himſelf to the moſt cruel torments, rather than break his word; a Cyrus and Scipio making a public profeſſion of continence and wiſdom; all the ancient Romans, ſo illuſtrious and ſo generally eſteemed, leading a poor, frugal, and ſober life; and on the other hand, ſee actions of treachery, debauchery, diſſoluteneſs, low and ſordid avarice, in great and conſiderable perſons, they heſitate not a moment to pronounce in favour of the ſide they ought.

[s] Seneca, ſpeaking of one of his maſters, ſays, that when he heard him diſcourſe of the advantages of poverty, chaſtity, ſobriety, and a conſcience pure and unblameable, he went away from his lectures, enamoured of virtue, and filled with horror for vice. And this is the effect hiſtory muſt produce, when well taught.

[s] Ego certè, cùm Attalum audierem, in vitia, in errores, in mala vitæ perorantem, ſæpe miſertus ſum generis humani. . . Cùm verò commendare paupertatem cœperat. . . . ſæpe exire è ſchola pauperi libuit. Cùm cœperat voluptates noſtras traducere, laudare caſtum corpus, ſobriam menſam, puram mentem, non tantùm ab illicitis voluptatibus, ſed etiam ſupervacuis, libebat circumſcribere gulam & ventrem. Senec. Ep. 108.

We

We muſt therefore be careful to make youth attentive to the excellent leſſons even Paganiſm affords, [*t*] which ſets no value upon whatever is external and adventitious, ſuch as wealth, honours and magnificence; [*u*] and even in man eſteems and admires only the qualities of the heart, that is to ſay, probity and virtue; [*x*] which are of ſo glorious a nature, that they honour, dignify, and exalt whatever approaches, or ſurrounds them, even poverty, miſery, exile, impriſonment, and torture. It is virtue alone which fixes the price of every thing, and is the ſole ſource of ſolid Glory and real Greatneſs. According to the principles of Paganiſm, [*y*] a prince is only ſo far great, as he is beneficent and liberal; nor ſhould he think of his power, but with a view to do good, and in imitation of the gods, to place the title of *beſt* before that of *greateſt*; JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS. He ſhould prefer the tender name of [*z*] father of his country to all the pompous titles of the invincible, the triumpher, the thunderbolt of war, the conqueror, titles generally ſo fatal to mankind, and call to mind that he is the protector and father of his ſubjects, and that his moſt ſolid Glory, as well as his moſt eſſential duty, is to do his utmoſt to make them happy.

One would think, nothing could be added to theſe noble ideas, which the Pagans give us of human power and greatneſs, or to the examples of virtue, which I have quoted above in ſuch great abundance.

[*t*] Quicquid eſt hoc quod circa nos ex adventitio fulget, honores, opes, ampla atria . . . . alieni commodatique apparatus ſunt. Senec. conſol. ad Marc. c. 10.

[*u*] Nec quicquam ſuum, niſi ſe, putet eſſe, ea quoque parte qua melior eſt. Senec. de Conſt. ſap. c. 6.

[*x*] Quicquid attiget virtus, in ſimilitudinem ſui adducit & tingit: actiones, amicitias, interdum domos totas, quas intravit diſpoſuitque, condecorat: quicquid tractavit, id amabile, conſpicuum, mirabile facit. Id. Ep. 60.

[*y*] Proximum diis locum tenet, qui ſe ex deorum natura gerit, beneficus, ac largus, & in melius potens. Hæc affectare, hæc imitari decet: maximum ita haberi, ut optimus ſimul habeare. Senec. l. 1. de Clem. c. 19.

[*z*] Cætera cognomina honori data ſunt. . . Patrem quidem patriæ appellamus, ut ſciret datam ſibi poteſtatem patriam, quæ eſt temperatiſſima, liberis conſulens, ſuaque poſt illos reponens. Senec. l. 1. de Clem. c. 14.

But

But let us hear what a wiſe man ſays, who was brought up, not in the ſchool of Plato or Socrates, but of Jeſus Chriſt, I mean St. Auguſtine, who, after having drawn the character of a great prince, teaches us, by one circumſtance that he adds to the deſcriptions of the ancients, wherein ſolid Glory conſiſts, and how far Chriſtianity ſurmounts the Pagan virtues, of which pride and vanity were the ſoul and principle.

" We do not call Chriſtian princes great and hap-
" py," [a] ſays this father, ſpeaking of the emperors, " for having reigned long, or for dying in peace,
" and leaving their children behind them on the
" throne; for having conquered the enemies of the
" ſtate, or ſuppreſſed ſedition, advantages which are
" common to them with ſuch princes as are worſhip-
" pers of devils. But we call them great and happy,
" when they make juſtice to flouriſh, and amidſt the
" praiſes that are given them, and the homage paid
" them, do not grow proud, but remember they are
" men; when they ſubmit their power to the ſove-
" reign power of the King of kings, and make it
" ſubſervient only to the advancement of true re-
" ligion; when they fear God, love him and wor-
" ſhip him; when they value not their kingdom in
" compariſon of him, with whom they have no rivals
" nor enemies to apprehend; when they are ſlow to
" puniſh, and ſwift to pardon; when they puniſh
" only for the good of the ſtate, and not the grati-
" fication of their perſonal revenge, and pardon only
" from the hope of amendment, and not to grant
" impunity to crimes; when, being obliged to uſe
" ſeverity, they temper it with ſome action of mild-
" neſs and clemency; when they are the more re-
" ſerved in their pleaſures, from being the more at
" liberty to indulge themſelves in them; when they
" rather chuſe to command their paſſions, than to
" govern all the nations of the world; AND WHEN

[a] S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 24.

" THEY

" THEY DO ALL THESE THINGS, NOT FROM VAIN GLO-
" RY, BUT THE LOVE OF ETERNAL HAPPINESS."

It was not in the power of Paganism to inspire such noble sentiments, and at the same time so pure from all self-love and vain glory. *Hæc omnia faciunt, non propter ardorem inanis gloriæ, sed propter caritatem felicitatis æternæ.* " All this they do, not through a de-
" sire of vain glory, but of eternal life." Nothing but the school of Christ was capable of raising man to so high a degree of perfection, as to make him absolutely forget himself in the midst of the greatest actions, that he might refer them only to God, wherein his entire greatness and glory consists. For whilst a man centers every thing in himself, let him make what efforts he will to appear great, and exalt himself, he continues still what he is, that is, meanness and nothing, and can only become great and exalted, by uniting himself to him, who is the sole source of all glory and greatness.

Hence arose that innumerable multitude of Christian heroes of every condition, sex, and age. The greatest, the most distinguished by the fortunes of the world have come to lay down at the foot of the cross, riches, grandeur, magnificence, dignities, science, eloquence, and fame, and counted all these sacrifices as nothing. S. Paulinus, the honour of France and glory of his age, whilst all the world stood in admiration at his generosity in distributing the immense riches he possessed in several provinces among the poor, thought he had yet done nothing, and compared himself to a wrestler preparing to engage, or a man that was ready to swim over a river, who had neither of them made any great progress, though they had stript off their clothes.

What shall I say of the multitude of illustrious ladies, who were some of them descended from the Scipios and the Gracchi, S. Paula, S. Olympias, S. Marcella, S. Melania, who in honour of the Gospel trod under foot the pomps and vanities of the world? What greatness of soul is there in that saying of Marcella's,

cella's, when, after she had distributed all her goods to the poor, seeing Rome taken and pillaged by the Goths, she thanked God she had secured her wealth before, and that the loss of the city had found her poor, and not made her so! [b] *Quod pauperem illam non feciſſet captivitas, ſed inveniſſet.*

No triumph ever equalled that which Christian humility gained in the person of S. Melania the grandmother, when she went to Nola, to visit S. Paulinus. We have an eloquent description of it given us by the saint himself. All her family, that is, the greatest and most eminent persons in Rome waited upon her, and resolved by way of honour to attend her in this journey with all the usual pomp belonging to persons of their quality. The Apian way was covered over with gilt and splendid coaches, with horses richly harnassed, and chariots of all kinds in abundance. In the midst of this pompous train marched a lady venerable for her age, and still more so for her grave and modest deportment, mounted on a little lean horse, and clothed in a garment of plain serge. All eyes however were turned and fixed upon the humble Melania. No body took any notice of the gold, the silk, and purple, which glittered around her; the coarse stuff extinguished all that vain splendor. There was seen in the children what the mother had quitted and trampled under foot, as a sacrifice to Jesus Christ.

The great lords and ladies, who made up this pompous retinue, instead of being ashamed of the vile and abject condition the holy widow appeared in, thought it an honour to draw near her, and touch her garments, thinking by this humble and respectful condescension to expiate the pride of their own riches and magnificence. Thus upon this occasion the pomp of the Roman greatness paid homage to the poverty of the Gospel.

Some such passages as these, intermixed from time to time with select portions of profane history, may

[b] S. Hieron. l. 3. ep. ad Principiam.

serve

ſerve to correct and amend whatever is amiſs in them, ſupply what is wanting on the part of motive and intention, and give youth a perfect idea of true and ſolid Greatneſs. For, in laying before them the beautiful actions and laudable ſentiments of the pagans, as we have done here, we muſt be careful from time to time to remind them of the principle [c] S. Auguſtine ſo frequently repeats, that without true piety, that is, without knowledge and love of the true God, there can be no real virtue; that it ceaſes to be ſuch, when produced by no other motive than human glory. It is true, adds he, theſe virtues, though falſe and imperfect, do however enable thoſe who have them to be much more ſerviceable to the public, than if they had them not. And it is in this ſenſe we may ſay, that it were ſometimes to be wiſhed that thoſe who govern were good pagans, good Romans, and acted according to the great principles, which were the ſoul of their conduct. [d] But the ſtate is then abſolutely happy, when it pleaſes God to advance ſuch to an high ſtation, as unite true and ſolid piety with the great qualities which we admire in the ancients.

PART THE SECOND.

Of SACRED HISTORY.

I SHALL reduce what I have to ſay upon the ſtudy of Sacred Hiſtory to two heads.

Firſt I ſhall lay down the principles I think neceſſary for making a proper advantage of this ſtudy; and then I ſhall make the application of them to ſome examples.

[c] Dum illud conſtet inter omnes veraciter pios, neminem ſine vera pietate, id eſt veri Dei vero cultu, veram poſſe habere virtutem, nèc eam veram eſſe, quando gloriæ ſervit humanæ. S. Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 19.

[d] Illi autem, qui vera pietate præditi bene vivunt, ſi habent ſcientiam regendi populos, nihil eſt felicius rebus humanis, quàm ſi Deo miſerante habeant poteſtatem. Ibid.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

NECESSARY PRINCIPLES *for the* UNDERSTANDING SACRED HISTORY.

BEFORE I ſet down the obſervations neceſſary to be made in the ſtudying of Sacred Hiſtory, or teaching it to others, I think it proper to begin with giving a general idea of it, which may explain the character peculiar to it, and aſſiſt us in ſhewing wherein this hiſtory differs from all others.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

The PROPER *and* PECULIAR CHARACTERS *of* SACRED HISTORY.

SACRED Hiſtory is very different from all other hiſtory whatſoever. The laſt contains only human facts and temporal events, and often full of uncertainty and contradiction. But the other is the hiſtory of God himſelf, the ſupreme Being; the hiſtory of his omnipotence, his infinite wiſdom, his univerſal providence, his holineſs, his juſtice, his mercy, and all his other attributes, ſet forth under a thouſand forms, and diſplayed by abundance of wonderful effects. The book which contains all theſe wonders is the moſt ancient book in the world, and the only one before the coming of the Meſſiah, in which God has ſhewn us, in a clear and certain manner, what he is, what we are, and for what ends deſigned.

Other hiſtories leave us deeply ignorant in all theſe important points. Inſtead of giving a clear and diſtinct idea of the Godhead, they render it obſcure, diſhonour and disfigure it by numberleſs extravagant fables, differing only from one another in a greater or leſs degree of abſurdity. They give us no inſight into the nature of the world we inhabit, whether it had

had a beginning, by whom or to what end it was created, how it is ſupported and preſerved, or whether it is always to ſubſiſt; we learn nothing what we are ourſelves, what our original, nature, deſign, or end.

Sacred Hiſtory begins with clearly revealing to us in a few words the greateſt and moſt important truths, That there is a God, pre-exiſting before all things, and conſequently eternal; that the world is the work of his hands, that he made it out of nothing by his word alone, and that thus he is almighty. [e] *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*

It then repreſents man, for whom this world was made, as coming forth from the hands of his Creator, and compounded of a body and a ſoul; a body made out of a little duſt, the proof of its weakneſs; and a ſoul, breathed into it by God, and conſequently diſtinct from the body, ſpiritual, intelligent, and from the very ſubſtance of its nature and conſtitution, incorruptible and immortal.

It deſcribes the happy condition in which man was created, righteous and innocent, and deſtined for eternal happineſs, if he had perſevered in his righteouſneſs and innocence; his ſad fall by ſin, the fatal ſource of all his misfortunes, and the twofold death to which he was condemned with all his poſterity; and laſtly, his future reſtoration by an all-powerful Mediator, which was even then promiſed and pointed out to him for his conſolation, though at the diſtance of a remote futurity; all the circumſtances and characters whereof are afterwards deſcribed, but under the faint ſhadows of figures and ſymbols, which, like ſo many veils, ſerve at the ſame time to diſcloſe and hide it.

It teaches us, that in this reſtoration of mankind, the great work of God, to which all is referred, and in which all terminates, is to form to himſelf a kingdom worthy of him, a kingdom which ſhall alone ſubſiſt to all eternity, and to which all others ſhall give place; that Jeſus Chriſt ſhall be the founder and

[e] Gen. i. 1.

ruler

ruler of this kingdom, according to the auguſt prophecy of [*f*] Daniel, who after he had ſeen in a viſion under different ſymbols the ſucceſſion and ruin of all the great empires of the world, ſees at laſt the Son of Man drawing near to the Ancient of Days, *uſque ad Antiquum Dierum*, a noble and ſublime expreſſion to denote the Eternal; and immediately adds, *that God gave him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all nations and languages ſhould ſerve him; his dominion is an everlaſting dominion, which ſhall not paſs away, and his kingdom that which ſhall not be deſtroyed.*

This kingdom is the church, which is begun and formed here upon earth, and ſhall one day be carried up into heaven, the place of its original and eternal habitation. [*g*] *And then cometh the end*, that is, of this viſible world, which ſubſiſts only for the other, *when Jeſus Chriſt, after having put down all rule, and all authority, and power, ſhall have delivered up the kingdom*, that is to ſay, the bleſſed and holy company of the elect, *to God, even the Father.*

'Tis this bleſſed ſociety of the juſt, and he who has been pleaſed to be their head, ſanctifier, father, and ſpouſe, who are the grand object and the laſt end of all the deſigns of God. From the beginning of the world, and even before ſin had perverted the order of it, he had them both in view. [*h*] St. Paul declares in expreſs terms, that the firſt Adam was the figure of the ſecond, *qui eſt forma futuri*; and [*i*] he inſinuates to us, that Eve, who was taken from Adam's ſide during his myſterious ſleep, was a natural image of the church, proceeding from the ſide of Chriſt, who ſlept upon the croſs to make us the children of it.

We ſee God, who is always watchful over the work of his own hands, from the earlieſt times preparing at a diſtance the formation of the Chriſtian church, and laying the foundations of it, by revealing to man ſuch myſteries as it was always neceſſary to his ſalva-

[*f*] Dan. vii. 1—14.
[*g*] 1 Cor. xv. 24.
[*h*] Rom. v. 14.
[*i*] Eph. v. 25, &c.

tion

tion for man to know, by frequently renewing to him the promiſe of a Redeemer, by pointing out to him the neceſſity of believing in a Mediator for the obtaining of true righteouſneſs; by teaching him the eſſence of religion and the ſpirit of true worſhip; by tranſmitting from age to age, without alteration, theſe capital doctrines by the long life of the firſt patriarchs, who were full of faith and holineſs; by taking care, through the means of the ark, to preſerve theſe eſſential truths from periſhing in the deluge; and laſtly, by forming from the beginning a ſociety of juſt men, more or leſs numerous and viſible, and preſerving them by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion.

But when the earth began to be again overſpread with an inundation of errors and crimes, of a more pernicious conſequence than the deluge of waters they had lately eſcaped from; God, to ſecure the ſalutary truths, which began to grow obſcure and extinct in all nations, committed them in truſt to a family entirely devoted to religion. Of them he forms a peculiar people, incloſed within the precincts of a particular country which he had long before prepared for them, ſeparated from all other nations by diſtinct laws and cuſtoms, directed and governed in a manner entirely ſingular, expoſed as a ſpectacle to the reſt of the world by the innumerable wonders he wrought amongſt them, either with a view to fix them in the promiſed land, to keep them in poſſeſſion of it, or bring them back to it when driven out. He was not content to guide them like other people, by a general and common providence, but himſelf became their head, legiſlator, and king. And it was his will, that this people ſhould be the type and figure of what was afterwards to happen to the church, by their departure out of Egypt, their wandering in the deſert, their entrance into the land of promiſe, their wars and conqueſts, their long captivity in Babylon, their return into their own country; in a word, by all the different ſtates and changes which befel them; and that the expectation of the Meſſiah, promiſed to

the patriarchs, figured by the ceremonies and ſacrifices of the law, foretold by the prophets, ſhould be the proper and eſpecial character of this people to diſtinguiſh them from all the other nations of the earth.

This is what the ſcripture teaches us, and alone could diſcover to us, as it alone is the depoſitary of the divine revelations, and of the manifeſtation of God's decrees, which lay concealed in his boſom from all eternity, till the moment he was pleaſed to divulge them. And can any object be greater, of nearer concern, and more worthy the attention of mankind, than an hiſtory, wherein God has thought fit of himſelf to draw with his own hand the plan of our eternal deſtiny.

To fix the certainty of revelation, and eſtabliſh religion upon a firm foundation, it has pleaſed God to give it two ſorts of proof, which were at the ſame time ſuited to the capacities of the moſt ſimple, and ſuperior to all the ſubtleties of the incredulous, which viſibly bore the character of omnipotence; and which neither all the endeavours of man, or cunning of devils were able to imitate.

Theſe two ſorts of proof conſiſts in miracles and prophecies.

The miracles are plain, public, notorious, expoſed to the eyes of all the world, infinitely multiplied and diverſified, long foretold and expected, and continuing for a long ſeries of days and ſometimes of years. They are evident facts, memorable events, of which the dulleſt underſtanding could not but be ſenſible, whereof the whole people were not only ſpectators and witneſſes, but themſelves the matter and object; they reap the advantages of them and perceive the effects, and have their own happineſs or miſery depending on them. The family of Noah could not forget the deſtruction of the whole world by the deluge, after the continued menaces of an age; nor the miraculous manner in which they alone were preſerved in the ark. The fire which came down from heaven upon the unrighteous

righteous cities; the whole kingdom of Egypt puniſhed at different times by ten terrible plagues; the ſea opening a paſſage to the Iſraelites, and cloſing to overwhelm Pharaoh and his army; the people of Iſrael fed with manna for forty years, and drinking of the brooks which flowed out of the ſtony rocks, covered with a cloud from the heat of the day, and enlightened by night with a pillar of fire; their clothes and their ſhoes not worn out in the courſe of ſo long a journey; the ſtreams of Jordan forgetting to flow, and the ſun ſtanding ſtill to ſecure the victory; an army of hornets marching before the people of God to drive the Canaanites from their poſſeſſions; the clouds at ſeveral times converted into a ſhower of hail-ſtones to overthrow the enemy; the nations in league againſt Iſrael diſperſed by a vain terror, or exterminated by a mutual ſlaughter in turning their arms againſt one another; an hundred fourſcore and five thouſand ſtruck dead with thunder in one night under the walls of Jeruſalem: all theſe prodigies, and a thouſand others of a like nature, whereof ſeveral were atteſted by ſolemn feaſts eſtabliſhed on purpoſe to perpetuate their memory, and by ſacred ſongs which were in the mouths of all the Iſraelites, could not be unknown to the moſt ſtupid, nor called in queſtion by the moſt incredulous.

And the ſame may be ſaid of the prophecies. We are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and conſider as the utmoſt effort of human underſtanding, that a famous [k] hiſtorian ſhould have been able by the force of his genius, a ſuperior capacity, and his profound knowledge of the characters of men and nations, to pry ſo far into the darkneſs of futurity, as to diſcern a conſiderable alteration which was to happen in the Roman commonwealth. And certainly ſuch a foreſight very much deſerves our admiration; and there is nobody, that has ever ſo little taſte and curioſity, who is not well pleaſed to examine, whether the hiſtorian has really conjectured ſo exactly as is reported.

[k] Polybius.

The Sacred Hiſtory preſents us with far greater wonders. We there ſee a multitude of inſpired men, who do not ſpeak doubtfully, with heſitation, or by conjecture, but with an affirmative voice loudly and publicly declare that ſuch and ſuch events ſhould certainly happen in the time and place, and with all the circumſtances that theſe prophets expreſs. But what events? The moſt particular, the moſt perſonal, and ſuch as moſt nearly concerned the intereſt of the nation, and at the ſame time were the moſt remote from all outward appearance. Under the flouriſhing reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, when the ſtate enjoyed peace and plenty, and luxury in eating, building and furniture was carried to exceſs, what likelihood was there of the terrible famine and ſhameful captivity [*l*] Iſaiah then threatened the ladies of the greateſt diſtinction with, or what probability of the extreme miſery which actually befel them in the following reign?

When, ſome time after, Jeruſalem, blocked up by the numerous army of Sennacherib, was reduced to the laſt extremity, without troops, without proviſions, or any hopes of human aſſiſtance, eſpecially after the army of the Egyptians had been cut to pieces, was the prediction of Iſaiah credible, that the city ſhould not be taken, that it ſhould not be beſieged in form, that the enemy ſhould not caſt an arrow againſt it, and that this formidable army ſhould be exterminated at once, without any human concurrence, and its king put to flight?

The entire deſtruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, the carrying Judah away captive to Babylon after the conqueſt and overthrow of Jeruſalem, the expreſs term of ſeventy years ſet for the duration of their captivity, their glorious return into their own country, their deliverer ſpecified and called by his proper name above two hundred years before he was born, the ſurpriſing and till then unheard-of manner, in which this famous conqueror was to take Babylon; could all this

[*l*] Iſai. iii. 16, 26, &c.

be

be the effect of human foreſight, or was there the leaſt appearance of it, when the prophets foretold it?

Theſe predictions however, illuſtrious as they were, ſerved only as a veil or preparation to others of far greater importance, to which the accompliſhment of the former was to give a degree of authority and credit, ſuperior in ſtrength to all that human underſtanding could imagine or deſire for the gaining of a full conviction and an unchangeable belief. It is plain, I mean the predictions relating to the Meſſiah, and the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian church. Theſe are ſo clear and circumſtantial, that they ſurpaſs all imagination. The prophets have not only ſpecified the time, the place, and the manner of the Meſſiah's birth, the principal actions of his life, and the effects of his preaching; but they ſaw and foretold the moſt particular circumſtances of his death and reſurrection, and have related them with almoſt as much exactneſs as the evangeliſts themſelves, who were eye-witneſſes of them.

But what ſhall we ſay of thoſe great events, which conſtitute the fate of mankind, take in the extent of all ages, and at laſt happily loſe themſelves in the eternity, which was their end and deſign; the eſtabliſhment of the church upon earth by the preaching of twelve fiſhermen; the reprobation of the whole body of the Jewiſh nation; the vocation of the Gentiles, to be ſubſtituted in the place of a people once ſo dearly beloved and favoured with ſuch high privileges; the deſtruction of idolatry throughout the world; the diſperſion of the Jews into all parts of the earth to ſerve as witneſſes to the truth of the holy ſcriptures, and the accompliſhment of the prophecies; their future return to the faith of Chriſt, which will be the refuge and conſolation of the church in the latter days; and laſtly, the tranſlation of this church, after many trials and dangers, from earth to heaven, there to enjoy eternal peace and felicity? Theſe are the ſubjects with which the prophets entertain us, and for this end the holy ſcriptures were written.

Now I aſk in the firſt place, whether we ſhall not be wanting in the moſt eſſential part of the education of youth, if we ſuffer them to be ignorant of an hiſtory ſo venerable and important for its antiquity, its authority, and the greatneſs and variety of facts related in it, and more eſpecially for the intimate union it has with our holy religion, as it is the foundation of it, as it contains all the proofs of it, points out to us all its duties, and for which it is ſo capable of inſpiring us with the greateſt reſpect from our moſt tender years, which may afterwards ſerve as a check and barrier againſt the licentious boldneſs of incredulity, which every day gains ground, and threatens us with the entire loſs of the faith?

I aſk in the ſecond place, whether it be to ſtudy and teach Sacred Hiſtory as we ought, barely to conſider the facts contained in it as hiſtorical facts, or to lay them before youth as objects only of their curioſity and admiration, without ſhewing them as the firmeſt ſupports of their belief, the legal patent of their true nobility, and certain pledges of their future greatneſs; without teaching them to compare theſe *miraculous* and *prophetical* events with the moſt boaſted *prodigies* and oracles of the heathen; and without making them ſenſible how vain thoſe upon which the whole Roman religion, for inſtance, was founded, and which [*m*] Tully in ſome of his books has endeavoured to ſupport with all his eloquence, (though in [*n*] others he obſolutely overthrows them) how vain and frivolous, I ſay, theſe prodigies and oracles are, and how far remote, ſuppoſing they were true, from the certainty, majeſty, and number of thoſe, which the Sacred Hiſtory preſents us with in every page?

Laſtly, I aſk whether we ſhould pay to the Sacred Hiſtory, dictated by the Holy Ghoſt himſelf, the reſpect which is due to it, by examining only the letter of it, without penetrating farther to diſcover the ſpirit and true ſignification of it, eſpecially after ſuch light as the evangeliſts and apoſtles, and ſince them the

[*m*] L. 1. de Nat. Deor. [*n*] L. 2. de Divinat.

conſtant

conſtant and uninterrupted tradition of the fathers, have given us upon this matter. We very often read in the Goſpel, that the actions related there were the accompliſhment of the figures and prophecies of the Old Teſtament; and Jeſus Chriſt himſelf aſſures us, that Moſes has principally written of him; [o] *Had ye believed Moſes, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me.* [p] St. Paul tells us, in clear and expreſs terms, that Jeſus Chriſt was the end of the law, and that what happened to the Jews, happened to them by way of type and figure. St. Auguſtine, who is herein no other than the interpreter and channel of the tradition of the church, declares to us, ſpeaking of the ſaints of the Old Teſtament, that not only their words, but their life, their marriages, their children, their actions, were a figure and prediction of what was long after to happen in the Chriſtian church; [q] *Horum ſanctorum, qui præceſſerunt tempore nativitatem Domini, non ſolum ſermo, ſed etiam vita, & conjugia, & filii, & facta, prophetia fuit hujus temporis, quo per fidem paſſionis Chriſti ex gentibus congregatur eccleſia*; and that the whole Hebrew nation were a kind of great prophet of him, who alone deſerves to be called great; [r] *Totumque illud regnum gentis Hebræorum, magnum quendam, quia & magni cujuſdam fuiſſe prophetam.* Whence he concludes that a prophecy of Chriſt and the church ſhould be ſought for in the actions of that people: *In iis quæ in illis, vel de illis divinitus fiebant, prophetia venturi Chriſti & eccleſiæ perſcrutanda eſt.*

In what is ſaid, for inſtance, of Abraham, [s] that he caſt out Hagar, who was his lawful wife, though a bond-woman of a ſecond rank, with Iſhmael his ſon, without giving them any thing for their ſubſiſtence but a little bread and water, can any man of good ſenſe or underſtanding comprehend that this patriarch, who was ſo liberal and humane to ſtrangers, would

[o] John v. 46.
[p] Rom. x. 4. 1 Cor. x. 11.
[q] S. Aug. de catech. rud. c. 19.
[r] L. 22. contra Fauſt. c. 24.
[s] Gen. xxii.

have treated his wife and ſon with ſuch ſeverity, if there was not ſome myſtery concealed under it?

Though tradition did not diſcover to us the meaning of the ſame patriarch's action in offering up Iſaac, would not reaſon alone, I mean in a man enlightened with faith, ſuffice to make us diſcern in it the charity of our heavenly Father, who had ſo great a love for mankind, as to give his only Son for them?

Can we tell the children the hiſtory of the brazen ſerpent fixed and hung upon a croſs in the wilderneſs as a remedy for the Iſraelites, who had been bitten by the fiery ſerpents, without explaining to them at the ſame time, of whom this ſerpent was the type?

Should we rightly underſtand the admirable hiſtory of Jonah, if we limited it only to the letter, and did not diſcern the reſurrection of Chriſt reſtored to life again from the grave on the third day, and the ſpeedy and miraculous converſion of the Gentiles, which was the fruit of our Saviour's death and reſurrection?

And the ſame may be obſerved in many other paſſages in Sacred Hiſtory, which are not underſtood if not fully comprehended. We ſhould ſtudy it as Jews, and not as Chriſtians, if we did not remove the veil that covers it, and were content with the ſurface, which, though rich indeed and valuable, conceals other riches of a far more ineſtimable value.

Theſe types or figures ſhould be explained to youth more or leſs fully in proportion to their years, taking care to dwell eſpecially upon ſuch as are explained in the New Teſtament, the meaning of which cannot poſſibly be miſtaken; however, a choice ſhould be made of the cleareſt of theſe, and ſuch as are beſt ſuited to the age of the pupil. There are ſome however ſo plain and evident in themſelves, though not explained in the New Teſtament, that we cannot poſſibly doubt their ſignification, as the hiſtory of Joſeph, and ſeveral others of the like nature.

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ARTICLE THE SECOND.

Useful Observations *for the* Study *of* Sacred History.

THE firſt care to be taken in the ſtudy of hiſtory in general, is to throw it into ſuch order and method as to be able clearly to diſtinguiſh facts, perſons, times, and places; and to this end chronology and geography may contribute, which have been deſervedly called the two eyes of hiſtory, as they give a great addition of light to it, and remove all kind of confuſion.

When I recommend the ſtudy of chronology, I am far from inclining to engage you in the examination of thoſe difficult and knotty queſtions, of which it is very ſuſceptible, and of which the diſcuſſion properly belongs only to the learned. It is ſufficient, if they have a clear and diſtinct idea, not of the preciſe year of every particular fact, for that would be endleſs and extremely troubleſome, but in general of the age wherein the moſt conſiderable events fell out.

Sacred Hiſtory, from the creation of the world to the birth of Jeſus Chriſt, is uſually divided into ſix ages or parts, which in all take in the ſpace of four thouſand years. This diviſion is not difficult to be retained, nor above the comprehenſion of children. The number of years in each of theſe ages is next to be obſerved, avoiding, as much as poſſible, the fractions or ſmall numbers, and reducing them to a round ſum. Thus the fourth age, which reaches from the departure out of Egypt to the time when the foundations of the temple were laid, exactly computed, includes but four hundred and ſeventy-nine years and ſeventeen days. But it is better to tell youth, that it amounts to about four hundred and eighty years. This ſpace may be again divided into different parts, but we muſt not multiply them too much; into forty years, which the people

people paſſed in the wilderneſs under the conduct of Moſes; three hundred and fifty from their entrance into the Holy Land under the direction of Joſhua and the judges; forty years under Saul, forty more under David, and ſome years of the reign of Solomon. Such a diviſion is not very burdenſome to the memory, and in my opinion makes the knowledge of facts much more clear and eaſy.

Among the writers of chronology, Uſher and Petavius are the moſt followed. Either the one or the other of theſe great men may be choſen for a guide; but in the ſame college it will be proper to keep to one and the ſame in every claſs.

As there are ſome facts in Sacred Hiſtory differently related by the ſeveral authors who have treated of them, it is the maſter's buſineſs to unite and reconcile theſe differences, by chuſing out of each book ſuch circumſtances as are moſt inſtructive and affecting. When they come to the times of the prophets, their writings give a great light to the hiſtorical books, that omit ſeveral conſiderable facts, or often but ſlightly touch upon them; of which we ſhall give ſome examples in the ſequel.

There has been lately printed a book, entitled, *An Abridgment of the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*, which may be very uſeful not only to youth, but to all perſons, who have not leiſure or capacity enough for ſtudying the Sacred Hiſtory in the ſcripture itſelf. Whatever is moſt eſſential in Sacred Hiſtory is thrown into this abridgment. That ſimplicity of ſtyle is diligently obſerved, which is ſo peculiar to it. In the hiſtorical relations care is alſo taken to intermix certain words of ſcripture, which convey great ſenſe, and ſuggeſt matter for important reflections. Laſtly, to render this work more complete and uſeful, it concludes with an extract from the ſapiental and prophetical books. It were to be wiſhed, we had the like aſſiſtance for profane hiſtory.

II. In

II. In the ſtudying of Sacred Hiſtory we muſt not neglect the uſages and cuſtoms peculiar to the people of God, their laws, their government, and manner of living. The excellent book of M. l'Abbé Fleuri's, intitled the *Manners of the Iſraelites*, contains all that can be deſired upon this ſubject, and diſpenſes with treating it more at large.

III. It is proper to make youth take notice of the principal characters of the Jews, the carnal Jews I mean, who made up the body of the nation. The honour which God had ſhewn them in chuſing them to be his people, had filled them with pride. They looked upon all other nations with the utmoſt contempt. They thought every thing their due. Full of preſumption, and an high opinion of themſelves, they expected to be juſtified only by their own works. They placed their whole confidence in the outward obſervances of the law. They confined their vows and hopes to temporal advantages and earthly bleſſings. When brought to the trial, and reduced to any neceſſity, forgetful of all the benefits of God, and all the miracles he had wrought in their favour, and conſtantly diſpoſed to rebel againſt him and their ſuperiors, they gave themſelves up to complaint, murmuring and deſpair. And laſtly, if we except the latter times, they had always an irreſiſtible inclination to idolatry.

It is this laſt circumſtance which in my opinion lets us moſt into the real character of the Jewiſh nation, and is one of the principal motives of the choice which God made of them; I mean, their hardneſs of heart, an extreme inclination to do ill, by which God would ſhew us, that means purely exterior are abſolutely incapable of correcting the heart of man, as they were all without exception employed for ſeveral ages in healing the Jews of idolatry, and teaching them to obſerve the firſt commandment, but without ſucceſs. Neither the long and miſerable oppreſſion they underwent

derwent in Egypt; nor the joy and gratitude for a miraculous deliverance, and the inſtruction of the law given at the foot of mount Sinai; neither the ſubſtitution of a new race, born in the wilderneſs, brought up by Moſes, formed by the law, intimidated by the puniſhment of their fathers; nor their entrance into the promiſed land, and the actual enjoyment of all the effects of the promiſe; neither the different chaſtiſements, nor the warnings and examples of the prophets, during their abode in that land, were able to root out that impious inclination. But growing ſtill more wicked, more corrupt, and idolatrous in the promiſed land, than they had been in Egypt, God at laſt was obliged to ſend them captive to Nineveh and Babylon; and yet this correction ſerved only to harden them; ſo that, giving up themſelves to all manner of wickedneſs, they cauſed the name of the God of Iſrael to be blaſphemed among the idolatrous nations, whom they exceeded in all manner of guilt and impiety.

'Tis God himſelf, who declares to us in his prophets, and eſpecially in [*t*] Ezekiel, the deſign he had of ſhewing mankind by the ſeries of all the events which befel his people, of ſhewing them, I ſay, the exceſſive corruption of their hearts, and the inability of purely external remedies for the healing ſo ancient and inveterate an evil. This view is one of the great keys of ſcripture, and ſhews us moſt ſenſibly the ſecret and ſpirit of the Old Teſtament. Without the knowledge of this circumſtance, the Sacred Hiſtory will conſiſt of impenetrable obſcurities, and remain an incomprehenſible book to the greateſt part of its readers. To what end indeed was the choice of a people ſo obſtinate and ungrateful? Why ſo many favours conferred upon Iſrael, preferably to ſo many other nations, in all outward appearance better than they? Why ſo conſtant an attachment to this people, notwithſtanding ſo fixed a perſeverance in ingratitude? Why were they made to paſs through ſo many various

[*t*] Ezek. xx.

con-

conditions? Why that continual alternative of promiſes and threatnings, conſolations and afflictions, rewards and corrections? Why ſo many inſtructions, warnings, invitations, reproofs, miracles, prophets, and holy guides? Why ſo many benefits beſtowed on a people, who, inſtead of growing better, became the worſe for them? This depth of the divine wiſdom, which aſtoniſhes us, ſhould at the ſame time inſtruct us; as from this very obſcurity, diffuſed through the whole conduct of God towards his people, there breaks out a light more clear than that of the ſun, demonſtrating to us the inſufficiency of all outward applications in healing the corruption of the human heart.

IV. It appears evidently from the manner in which the Old Teſtament is written, that the deſign of God, in giving it to men, was to make them extremely attentive to the great examples of virtue contained in it. The ſcripture cuts off in few words the hiſtory of the ungodly, how great ſoever they were in the eyes of the world; and on the other hand dwells long upon the ſmalleſt actions of the righteous. The firſt book of Kings is the hiſtory of Samuel; the ſecond that of David; the third and fourth of Solomon, Jehoſhaphat, Hezekiah, Elijah, Eliſha, and Iſaiah. The wicked ſeem to be mentioned only with regret, by accident, and on purpoſe to be condemned. If we compare what is ſaid of Nimrod, who built [u] the two mighty cities of the world, and founded the greateſt empire that ever was in the univerſe, with what is reported of the firſt patriarchs, we know not why the very important facts, which muſt have rendered the life of that famous conqueror ſo particular, and given ſo much light and ornament to ancient hiſtory, ſhould be paſſed over with ſuch rapidity, to dwell ſo long upon the minute, and ſeemingly unneceſſary circumſtances of the life either of Abraham, or Jacob, which was ſtill leſs illuſtrious than that of his grandfather. But God points out to us herein how different his

[u] Nineveh and Babylon.

thoughts

thoughts are from ours, in letting us ſee in the firſt what men admire and wiſh for, and in the others what he is well pleaſed with, and thinks worthy his approbation and our attention.

The ſcripture lays down rules, and preſcribes models for all ranks and conditions. Kings and judges, rich and poor, huſbands and wives, fathers and children, all find there moſt excellent inſtructions upon every branch of their duty. 'Tis an uſeful, and withal an agreeable exerciſe, to accuſtom youth to join together of themſelves and repeat off hand ſeveral examples upon the ſame ſubject.

Kings in holy ſcripture, I mean ſuch as were after God's own heart, conſider themſelves only as the miniſters of the ſupreme King, and uſe their authority only to make their ſubjects happy, by making them better. They are full of zeal for the glory of God and the public good. Let but any one carefully reflect upon the ſentiments of piety, which David expreſſed in the tranſlation of the ark, and his preparations for building the temple; Jehoſhaphat's viſitation of his kingdom; Hezekiah's cares for religion from the moment he began to reign; the indefatigable zeal of Joſiah for reſtoring the true worſhip not only in Judah, but in the ten tribes alſo, and he will plainly ſee that thoſe princes thought themſelves placed on the throne only to eſtabliſh the kingdom of God in their dominions. And to ſhew that piety is not inconſiſtent with true politics, the ſcripture affects ſometimes to mention in particular the wiſe precautions they took in war and peace; fortifications of towns, magazines of arms, diſciplined troops; the cares of agriculture, of the feeding and preſervation of cattle, the certain and innocent ſources of the plenty that reigned throughout the country, and enabled the people to pay with joy and eaſe the taxes which were conſtantly regulated according to the real neceſſities of the ſtate, and the abilities of every private ſubject.

Judges, magiſtrates, miniſters, and all perſons in authority, find perfect models in Moſes, Joſhua, the Judges

Judges to Samuel, in Job, Nehemiah, Eſdras, and Eliakim. Their whole conduct ſhews an entire diſintereſtedneſs. They have no thoughts of eſtabliſhing or raiſing a family. They are popular, plain, and modeſt, without pomp, without diſtinctions, without guards, without jealouſy in the command, receiving the advice of perſons below them with pleaſure, and gladly ſharing with them in authority.

Riches. Abraham, Job, Boaz, &c.

We know that Abraham was very rich, and at the ſame time very liberal and generous. He would have looked upon it as a ſhame and a reproach, if any other than God had made him rich. [x] *I will not take any thing that is thine*, ſays he to the king of Sodom, who out of gratitude offered Abraham all the ſpoils he had recovered from the hands of the enemies, *leſt thou ſhouldeſt ſay I have made Abraham rich.* His houſe was open to all ſtrangers and paſſengers. [y] The ſcripture repreſents this holy man as ſitting at his tent-door in the heat of the day, and placed there as a centinel for charity, to wait, or rather to ſeek opportunities of exerciſing hoſpitality; for it is ſaid that he ran to meet his gueſts; *And when he ſaw them, he ran to meet them.*

Job was a powerful and mighty prince. The ſcripture gives us in him a magnificent picture of an eminent perſon, placed in authority, and abounding with riches. [z] From his youth, as he lively expreſſes his ſentiments, compaſſion was brought up with him, and had been his guide from his mother's womb. [a] He thought it ſuperior to the moſt glorious titles, that he was eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame, the father of the poor, the ſanctuary of ſtrangers, the comforter of the widow, and the protector of the orphan that had none to help him. [b] He deſpiſed not to reaſon with his man-ſervant or his maid-ſervant, when they thought they had any ſubject of complaint againſt

[x] Gen. xiv. 23.
[y] Ibid. xviii 1, 2.
[z] Job xxxi. 18.
[a] Ibid. xxix. 12, 15, 16.
[b] Ibid. xxxi. 13, 15.

him,

him, as thoroughly convinced that they had all one common master, and the same God was their creator and his. [c] He never placed his confidence in his great riches, and the destruction of his enemies never gave him any secret joy. [d] Accessible to all without distinction, he took cognizance of affairs with extreme application. [e] He put on righteousness, and it clothed him; his judgment was as a robe and a diadem: [f] he brake the jaws of the wicked, and pluckt the spoil out of their teeth: [g] and the pleasing fruit he reaped from his zeal was the satisfaction of having delivered him that was ready to perish, and having his blessing come upon him; [h] and at the same time that he sat in the midst of senators and princes, and dwelt as a king in the army, he ceased not to be the comforter of the afflicted.

Boaz is no less admirable in this kind. [i] In the midst of riches he is laborious, diligent in husbandry, plain, without luxury, delicacy, sloth, or pride. How affable, how obliging and kind to his servants! *The Lord be with you*, says he to his reapers; and they answered him, *The Lord bless thee.* This was the beautiful language of religious antiquity, but how little known in our days.

How commendable was his behaviour towards Ruth, when he desires her not to go into any other field to glean, but to abide fast by his maidens to eat and drink with them; and the charitable order he gives his reapers, to let her glean even among the sheaves, and to let fall some of the handfuls on purpose for her, that she might gather them up without being ashamed; teaching us by this wise conduct to save those we oblige the confusion of receiving, and ourselves the temptation of vain glory, and even pleasure of giving.

Tobit. The Holy Ghost gives us in this good man a perfect model of private life, and points out to us in him all the virtues and duties of that condition

[c] Job xxxi. 24, 25, 29.
[d] Ibid. xxix. 15.
[e] Ver. 14.
[f] Ver. 17.
[g] Ver. 11, 13.
[h] Ver. 25.
[i] Ruth ii.

united

united together. We see in him a firm resolution from his infancy to stand upon his guard against the contagion of ill example; an equality of mind in the different situations of life; a generosity, in the time of his plenty, to succour the distressed, and lend even large sums without interest; a patience in supporting extreme poverty, not only without murmuring, but with thanksgiving; an invincible courage in the exercise of works of mercy; a gentleness in bearing domestic contradictions; a firm confidence in God under the severest trials; a constant care in the education of his son, as well by his example as instructions, in the fear of the Lord, in doing justice to his neighbour, and shewing compassion to the poor; and lastly, a lively and fixed expectation of future blessings, which supported and comforted him under the greatest afflictions. *We are*, [k] says he, *the children of the saints, and wait for that life, which God will give to them who faithfully observe the promise they have made him.*

The poor. What an example is Job to such as have lost their substance all at once by unforeseen misfortunes. [l] *The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord.*

Ruth, astonished that Boaz should look upon a poor woman who was a stranger, teaches such as are reduced to beggary, as she was, how humble and grateful they ought to be, by reflecting that nothing is their due.

How happy would the case of the poor be, if like Tobit they had ever this excellent maxim in their minds, [m] *Fear not, my son, that we are made poor; for thou hast much wealth, if thou fear God, and depart from all sin, and do that which is pleasing in his sight.*

Married persons. The holy wives of the patriarchs. Sarah the daughter of Raguel. Ruth. Esther. Judith. Tobit and Tobias. Job. One single expression of Job's shews us how far the ancients carried conjugal chastity. Job was a rich and powerful

[k] Tobit ii. 18.
[l] Job i. 21.
[m] Tobit iv. 23.

prince, living in plenty, and attended by an obſequious court. Yet he tells us himſelf, that he had made an agreement with his eyes, and impoſed the ſtrict law upon them, never to caſt a look upon a maid. [n] *I have made a covenant with mine eyes, why then ſhould I think upon a maid?*

What I have obſerved of the rules and models to be found in ſcripture, that are ſuited to the ſeveral eſtates of life, will likewiſe hold good of different virtues, and every ſubject of morality.

Virtue conſtantly exerciſed, tried, and confirmed by afflictions. Abel. Abraham. Joſeph. Moſes. David. Job. Daniel, &c.

Vice unfortunate. Cain. Abimelech and the Sichemites. Abſalom. Achitopel. Jeroboam. Baaſha. Ahab.

The pardon of injuries. Abraham, with reſpect to Lot. Joſeph, in regard to his brethren. David, with reſpect to Saul.

The oppreſſion of the poor. The weak, widows, orphans and ſtrangers, cry to heaven for vengeance and obtain it. Abel againſt Cain. Jacob againſt Laban and Eſau. Iſrael againſt the Egyptians. The blood of Gideon's children againſt Abimelech. Uriah againſt David. Naboth againſt Ahab and Jezebel.

Repentance covers the greateſt ſins, and prevents the execution of the moſt terrible threatnings. The Ninevites. The children of Iſrael very often. Ahab. Manaſſeh.

V. The KNOWLEDGE of God and his attributes ſhould be one of the greateſt advantages to be drawn from the ſtudy of Sacred Hiſtory.

The UNITY of God. This truth is viſible throughout the ſcripture, where God ſeems every where to cry aloud, that there is no other God, or Lord, than himſelf. [o] *I am the Lord, and there is none elſe.—I am God, and there is none elſe.*

[n] Job xxxi. 1. [o] Iſa. xlv. 18, 22.

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The Omnipotence of God manifeſted by the creation, preſervation and government of the world; by the facility with which he raiſes whomſoever he pleaſes to the throne, and caſts them down again; eſtabliſhes kingdoms, and deſtroys them; makes nations flouriſhing and miſerable: by the ſovereign power he exerciſes, not only over what is outward and viſible, but over the heart and mind, in turning them as he pleaſes, from one reſolution to another, according to his deſigns. Examples. Laban and Eſau marching againſt Jacob. The counſel of Achitophel defeated by Huſhai. The whole army of Judah tranſported with rage and a thirſt of vengeance, marching under Rehoboam againſt Jeroboam, ſtopped and diſperſed in an inſtant, upon the ſingle admonition of the prophet. The army of Iſrael returning to Samaria, laden with ſpoils, and ſending back two hundred thouſand captives upon the bare remonſtrance of certain great men of Samaria, &c.

The Goodness of God and its motives. It diffuſes itſelf with profuſion and inexhauſtibly, by beſtowing whatever is neceſſary, advantageous or delightful, upon men who know him not, who do not return thanks to him for it, and who even offend or blaſpheme him.

The Patience of God. Bearing with the crimes and impenitence of mankind for many ages, from the preaching of Enoch to the deluge. The meaſure of the Amorites was not full, till after four hundred years were expired. The Jewiſh nation ſupply us with many inſtances of it, particularly in the ruin of Samaria and Jeruſalem, and the captivity of Iſrael and Judah, which were denounced for ſeveral years before they were executed.

The Justice of God, when it ſhews itſelf at laſt, is terrible, deſtructive, inexorable; nothing can withſtand or avert it. The deluge. Sodom. Nineveh. Babylon, &c.

The character of the punishment is usually proportioned to the nature of the crime. The whole earth corrupted by mankind is drowned with the waters of the deluge. The wretched cities burning with impure lusts are consumed by fire. The adultery and homicide of David are revenged by the incests and murders of his children.

The PROVIDENCE of God is universal, presides over all, to the minutest particular, governs and directs all. God calls the famine, the sword, and the pestilence to punish the ungrateful, and humble the proud. He raises on a sudden the spirit of a people, who have no thoughts of war, and brings them from far to ravage a guilty nation. He inspires the troops with ardour, courage, obedience, and a contempt of fatigues and dangers. He gives the commanders vigilance, activity, and boldness for undertaking the most difficult things; the foreseeing and distinguishing the most useful expedients; the authority and art of making themselves beloved and feared at the same time. He removes obstacles, facilitates enterprises, and grants success. On the other hand, from those he means to destroy, he takes away counsel, presence of mind, strength, and courage. He throws disorder and consternation into armies, and turns the swords of the soldiers against their companions. He brings about his designs by the most unlikely means, as in the history of Joseph; and often by such methods as seem the effects of pure chance, though all designed and prepared by infinite wisdom, as is clearly seen in the history of David, from his condition of a shepherd to the death of Saul.

Masters, in explaining Sacred History to youth, cannot too much insist upon providence, as it is an attribute of God, which we are most nearly concerned to know, of the greatest importance, and most necessary; as it influences all events both public and private, and every man ought to have it in his view in every circumstance of life, in every action of the day; as it is the firmest basis of religion, and forms the most

natural

natural and ſtricteſt ties between the creature and the Creator; as it makes us more thoroughly ſenſible of our entire dependence upon him, of our weakneſs and wants, and preſents us with opportunities of exerting the greateſt virtues, ſuch as confidence in God, a grateful acknowledgment of his mercies, diſintereſtedneſs, humility, reſignation, and patience; and as it furniſhes piety and religious worſhip with the moſt uſual ſubject of their exerciſes by prayers, vows, thankſgivings, and ſacrifices.

The Knowledge of Futurity. One of the moſt incommunicable characters of the divinity is the knowledge of futurity. God often challenges the falſe deities to ſortel what is to come. [*p*] *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods.* In teaching Sacred Hiſtory youth muſt be made carefully to obſerve the moſt famous predictions, whether they regard temporal events or reſpect religion; and at the ſame time the character of the prophets, their miſſion, the end and dangers of their office. They are holy and unblameable in their manners, lead a poor and obſcure life, without ambition, without intereſt, or deriving any advantage from their predictions. They are ſent to the unbelieving, who oppoſe and perſecute them, and do not ſubmit till the fulfilling of the prediction has made it evident. Their predictions regard public events, and declare the fate of kingdoms. They are circumſtantial, publiſhed long before their accompliſhment, known to all, and within the capacity of the moſt ſimple. All theſe particulars joined together are powerful motives for belief.

VI. Laſtly, as Jeſus Chriſt is the end of the law, whenever an occaſion naturally offers, he ſhould be pointed out to youth in the hiſtories explained to them; in the ſacrifices, the ceremonies, the actions of the patriarchs, judges, kings and prophets; in a word, in all thoſe by whom God has thought fit in ſome re-

[*p*] Iſa. xli. 23.

ſpect figuratively to repreſent either Chriſt or the church, which is his ſpouſe and his work.

VII. To all theſe obſervations I cannot avoid adding one more upon the advantages of PIETY, to which youth ought carefully to attend. And indeed it hath pleaſed God to ſhew, through the whole ſeries of the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, that all promiſes and rewards, with reſpect even to this life, are annexed to PIETY; that all temporal advantages ſpring from God, as their ſole original, and that we ought to expect them from him alone, though he has reſerved for his ſervants in eternity ſuch as are far more worthy his magnificence, and bear a greater proportion to virtue. It was this piety, which principally conſiſted in a firm confidence of God, that alone directed the fate of his people, and abſolutely decided the public happineſs, and condition of the ſtate. Every thing was meaſured by it, favourable ſeaſons, plenty, fruitfulneſs, victory over our enemies, deliverance from the greateſt dangers, freedom from a foreign yoke, the enjoyment of all the advantages that could be taſted in the boſom of a profound peace. It obtained all, and ſurmounted every difficulty. It was by piety that Jonathan with his armour-bearer alone put a whole garriſon to flight; that David unarmed overthrew the giant, and ſecured himſelf from the artifices and violence of Saul; that Jehoſhaphat, without drawing a ſword, triumphed over three nations in league againſt him; that Hezekiah ſaved Jeruſalem and the kingdom of Judah, by ſeeing the deſtruction of an hundred and fourſcore and five thouſand Aſſyrians. On the other hand, impiety drew down all the ſcourges of God's anger, famine, plague, war, defeats, bondage, and the entire ruin of the moſt mighty families; guilt always led to an unhappy end.

Such obſervations may very much contribute to inculcate ſentiments of piety inſenſibly, agreeably, without trouble or affectation, without ſeeming to preach, or to read long lectures of morality. It is the principal

principal end which God has propoſed in connecting all the duties, virtues, precepts, ſalutary truths, myſteries, and in a word all religion, with ſuch facts as men of every condition, age, and character, are affected, becauſe they fall within their capacity, and are no leſs agreeable than uſeful. To omit ſuch obſervations, were to deprive youth of the greateſt advantages to be reaped from the ſacred books, and leave them ignorant of the eſſential part of ſcripture.

Having pointed out the principal things to be obſerved in reading and explaining Sacred Hiſtory, and in ſome meaſure laid down the foundations and principles of that ſtudy, I ſhall next make the application of them to ſome particular facts, to ſhew how the rules I have advanced may be reduced to practice, and this I ſhall do with the greateſt order and clearneſs that I can.

CHAP. II.

The APPLICATION *of the foregoing* PRINCIPLES *to ſome* EXAMPLES.

THE examples to which I ſhall apply the rules I have laid down, ſhall be taken from two great men very famous in ſcripture, Joſeph and Hezekiah. And to the hiſtory of theſe two I ſhall add one article upon the prophecies.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

The STORY *of* JOSEPH.

AS this ſtory is very long and well known, I ſhall be obliged to omit or abridge ſeveral circumſtances, though very material in themſelves, that I may not dwell too much upon this ſubject.

I. *Joseph sold by his brethren, carried into Egypt, brought into Potiphar's house, and thrown into prison.* Gen. xxxvii, xxxix, xl.

Jacob had twelve children, of which Joseph and Benjamin the youngest, were born to him of Rachel. The particular affection which Jacob expressed towards Joseph, and the liberty Joseph took of charging his brothers before him with a crime the scripture does not mention, and the account he gave them of his dreams, which denoted his future greatness, raised their jealousy and hatred against him.

One day as they saw him coming up to them in the country, where they were feeding their flocks, they said to one another, See here the dreamer cometh; come now therefore, let us kill him, and throw him into a pit, and we shall see what will become of his dreams. Upon the remonstrance of Reuben, they contented themselves with throwing him into the pit, and taking away his coat. Soon after they drew him out from thence, to sell him to a company of Ishmaelite merchants, who were going down into Egypt, and accordingly sold him to them for twenty pieces of silver. After this they took his coat, and dipped it in the blood of a kid, and sent it to Jacob, saying, This coat have we found; see now whether it be thy son's coat or no. And he knew it, and said, It is my son's coat; a wild beast has devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces. And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloath upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days.

The Ishmaelites carried Joseph into Egypt, and sold him to one of the principal officers in Pharaoh's court, named Potiphar. *And the Lord*, says the scripture, *was with Joseph, and the Lord made all that he did to prosper in his hand.* His master seeing that the Lord was with him, took him into favour, made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hands. Also the Lord blessed the house of Potiphar, and he multiplied his blessings on all that he had for Joseph's sake.

He

He had now lived a conſiderable time in Potiphar's houſe, when his miſtreſs caſting her eyes upon him, in the abſence of her huſband, ſolicited him to ſin with her. But Joſeph abhorred it, and ſaid to her, How can I be ſo wicked, as to abuſe the confidence placed in me by my maſter, and commit this ſin againſt God? but ſhe went on ſtill to ſolicit him day by day, without obtaining her deſires. At laſt, as Joſeph was one day alone, ſhe took hold of his garment, and preſſed him to a conſent. But Joſeph left his garment in her hand, and fled. The woman in great indignation at his refuſal, ſet up a loud cry, and calling to the men of her houſe, ſhe told them that Joſeph had attempted to do her violence, and as ſoon as he had heard her cry out, he fled. And when her huſband came home, ſhe ſaid the ſame things to him, and ſhewed him the garment as a proof of what ſhe alledged. Potiphar, too credulous to the words of his wife, gave way to the violence of his paſſion, and ſhut him up in the priſon where the king's priſoners were bound. But the Lord was with Joſeph, had compaſſion on him, and gave him grace in the eyes of the keeper of the priſon.

Whilſt Joſeph was in priſon, two of the great officers of Pharaoh's court, the chief butler and the chief baker, were thrown into the ſame place by the king's order. And the keeper charged Joſeph with them, as he had with all the other priſoners. Some time after they both dreamed a dream in the ſame night, which gave them great uneaſineſs. Joſeph explained their dreams, and foretold to the butler, that within three days he ſhould be reſtored to his employment; and told the baker, that within three days Pharaoh would hang him on a tree, and the birds ſhould eat his fleſh from off him. And as he had ſaid, ſo it fell out. The chief baker was put to death, and the butler reſtored. Joſeph beſought the butler to ſhew kindneſs to him, to make mention of him before Pharaoh, and bring him out of priſon; for I was ſtolen away, ſays he, from the land of the Hebrews,

Hebrews, and have done nothing that they ſhould ſhut me up in this dungeon. But the chief butler being reſtored again to favour, thought no more of his interpreter.

REFLECTIONS.

Qu. What muſt we think of God's behaviour towards Joſeph, whoſe virtue drew upon him ſuch ill treatment, firſt from his brethren, who hated him, and cruelly uſed him; and then from his miſtreſs, Potiphar's wife, who wrongfully accuſed him, and cauſed him to be ſhut up like a wretch in a dungeon?

Anſw. It has pleaſed God by this conduct to lay before us very important inſtructions.

I. His deſign is to undeceive mankind in the falſe notions they entertain of providence and virtue. They are apt to think that God neglects the care of human affairs, when thoſe that fear him are oppreſſed and in miſery. They think that virtue ſhould always render ſuch as are ſincerely poſſeſſed of it happy in this life. The ſcripture overthrows theſe miſtaken prejudices by the example of Joſeph, over whom God was peculiarly watchful, and yet he was hated by his brethren, ſold, baniſhed, wrongfully accuſed and thrown into priſon; and for all this preſerved his virtue pure and unſullied, without being ever the better for it for ſeveral years; and was even thrown into captivity, and ran the hazard of loſing his life only for conſtantly perſevering in his duty. It is true, God afterwards broke his bonds, and raiſed him to ſupreme authority. But Joſeph was prepared to ſuffer oppreſſion to the end of his days. He conſented to die in priſon, if it ſo pleaſed God; and would have been no leſs precious in his ſight, nor leſs ſecure of the eternal bleſſings he hoped from his mercy, though he had appeared to have been forſaken by him to the laſt moment.

Qu. Does it actually appear, that God took a peculiar care of Joſeph, during his misfortunes?

Anſ.

Anſ. The ſcripture ſeems to have been particularly careful to make us obſerve in what manner God protected his ſervant, by informing us [*q*] that God was always with him, and for this reaſon he was a proſperous man; that he cauſed him to find favour in the ſight of his maſter, who ſaw that God was with him; and that he bleſſed him in all that he did; that he put it into Potiphar's heart to make him, young as he was, the overſeer over all his houſe; that to engage the maſter to his ſervant by a ſtronger and more laſting degree of affection, the Lord bleſſed the houſe of the Egyptian for Joſeph's ſake, and his bleſſings was upon all that he had in the houſe and in the field; inſomuch that he left all that he had in his hand, and knew not ought he had, ſave the bread that he eat; that when Joſeph was caſt into priſon, the Lord ſhewed him mercy, and gave him favour in the ſight of the keeper of the priſon, inſomuch that he committed to Joſeph's hand all the priſoners that were in the priſon, without looking to any thing that was under his hand; and placed ſuch confidence in him, that nothing was done there without his direction; that laſtly, whatever he did the Lord made it to proſper.

Qu. But notwithſtanding all theſe favours, was not the priſon a very ſorrowful dwelling for Joſeph?

Anſ. When thrown into priſon, he ſeemed forſaken of all; but God deſcended with him into the obſcure dungeon, wherein he was ſhut up. *For the Lord was with Joſeph.* And the ſcripture does not ſcruple to ſay, that the eternal Wiſdom became in a manner a priſoner with him; [*r*] *She went down with him into the pit, and left him not in bonds.* She ſoftened the tediouſneſs of the nights, which were ſpent in watching and ſuffering. She was a light in that darkneſs, whither the rays of the ſun could not penetrate. She removed from ſolitude and captivity, which neither reading nor buſineſs could diminiſh or ſuſpend the ſenſe of, the terrible weight of diſquie-

[*q*] Gen. xxxix. 2, &c. [*r*] Wiſd. x. 13, 14.

tude,

tude, which ſhocks the moſt reſolute. And laſtly, ſhe diffuſed a calmneſs and ſerenity over his mind, of which the ſource was inviſible and inexhauſtible. When Joſeph was made a partner in the throne of Pharaoh, it is not ſaid, that Wiſdom aſcended with him thither, as it is ſaid that ſhe deſcended with him into priſon. She accompanied him without doubt in the ſecond eſtate, but the firſt was dearer to Joſeph, and muſt be ſo to every man that has faith.

Qu. What other inſtruction has it pleaſed God to give us in the conduct he obſerved with regard to Joſeph?

Anſ. He would teach us in the ſecond place how his providence conducts all things to the execution of his deſigns, and how he makes the very obſtacles, which men ſtrive to throw in their way, ſubſervient to them. The deſign of God was to raiſe Joſeph to ſuch a degree of greatneſs and power, as ſhould oblige his brothers to bow down humbly before him. Joſeph's brethren oppoſed it; but, ſays the ſcripture, [*s*] *There is no wiſdom, nor underſtanding, nor counſel againſt the Lord.* What they did to humble Joſeph was the firſt ſtep, by which God leads him to elevation and glory; and the horrible calumny of his unchaſte miſtreſs, which ſeemed to complete his misfortunes, was the circumſtance which advanced him almoſt to the throne.

This Joſeph obſerves himſelf to his brethren afterwards, by telling them it was not they that had ſent him into Egypt, but God that had brought him thither. [*t*] *So now it was not you that ſent me hither, but God.* Theſe words are great matter of conſolation to ſuch as have faith. Whatever ſhall be deſigned againſt them, ſhall become the means of ſecuring their happineſs and ſalvation. Secret machinations, or open hatred, captivity, or calumny, ſhall bring them to the point which grace has marked out for them; after which envy and injuſtice ſhall be con-

[*s*] Prov. xxi. 30. [*t*] Gen. xlv. 8.

founded,

founded, and when they ſhall have ſettled Joſeph upon the throne, they ſhall tremble in his preſence.

Qu. What means did Joſeph make uſe of to reſiſt the temptation laid for him by his miſtreſs?

Anſ. We find in his conduct an excellent model of what we ſhould do, when we are tempted. Joſeph defends himſelf at firſt by the remembrance of God and his duty. How, ſays he, to that bold and ſhameleſs woman, can I commit ſuch an action, who have God for my witneſs and my judge? 'Tis in his ſight that you and I ſhall both become criminal. It is he who commands me to diſobey you upon this occaſion. How can I eſcape his view, or corrupt his juſtice, or be covered from his indignation; [*u*] *How then can I do this great wickedneſs, and ſin againſt God?* But when the temptation was become ſo ſtrong, that he had cauſe to fear his weakneſs might yield to it, he betakes himſelf to flight, forſakes all, and expoſes himſelf to the utmoſt hazard, rather than continue in ſuch a ſtate, as might incline him to offend againſt God.

Qu. Is there no other reflection to be made upon the misfortunes and diſgrace of Joſeph?

Anſ. How ſevere and unjuſt ſoever the treatment was which Joſeph was to undergo, he never let fall the leaſt word of murmuring and complaint. He never abandoned himſelf to diſcouragement, whilſt he was a bond-ſlave, but gave himſelf up entirely to the ſervice of his maſter. So much leiſure as priſoners have, and notwithſtanding the natural inclination of mankind to talk of their own adventures, he never made a recital of his. And when under a neceſſity of laying himſelf open to the chief butler, he does it with ſuch a moderation and charity, as cannot be ſufficiently admired. *For indeed I was ſtolen away out of the land of the Hebrews, and here alſo have I done nothing that they ſhould put me into the dungeon.* He neither names his brethren who had ſold him, nor his miſtreſs who had unjuſtly accuſed him. He only ſays, that he was carried away and made a ſlave,

[*u*] Gen. xxxix. 9.

though

though freeborn, and condemned to a cruel prison, though he was innocent. Another person, of less humility and prudence, would have told the story of his life, and insisted on the most honourable circumstances. If he had done so, the Holy Ghost would have left a virtue in darkness, which rather than subsist in obscurity, would have chose to have been comforted under misfortune, by the vain satisfaction of making itself admired; whereas care has been taken to let all ages know what Joseph would not have mentioned in secret, nor in the obscure dungeon wherein he was shut up.

II. *Joseph's advancement. The first descent of his brethren into Egypt.* Gen. xli, xlii.

At the end of two full years, after the butler was restored, Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in the same night. In the one he saw seven fat kine coming up out of the river, which were devoured by seven other lean kine, that came up after them out of the same river. In the second he saw seven full ears of corn, which were presently after devoured by seven thin ears. And when none of the wise men of Egypt could interpret these dreams, the butler remembered Joseph, and spoke of him to the king, who caused him presently to be brought out of prison, and told him his dreams. Joseph answered, that the seven fat kine and the seven full ears signified seven years of plenty; and the seven lean kine and thin ears signified seven years of famine which were to succeed them. And he advised the king to look out a wise and discreet man, who should be employed during the seven years of plenty to lay up part of the corn in public store-houses, that Egypt might be supplied from thence in the years of famine. This counsel pleased Pharaoh, and he said to Joseph, I appoint thee this day to rule over the land of Egypt; according to thy word shall my people be governed, and only I shall be greater than thou. At the same time he took off

off his [x] ring from his hand, and put it upon Joſeph's hand; and he made him to ride in the ſecond chariot which he had, and they cried before him, Bow the knee. He alſo changed his name, and gave him one which ſignified, *The ſaviour of the world.*

The ſeven years of plenty fell out, as Joſeph had foretold. And he gathered up a great quantity of the corn, and laid it in the king's ſtore-houſes. The famine came next, and ſpread itſelf over all countries; but in Egypt there was corn. And when the people were almoſt famiſhed, they cried unto Pharaoh for bread. And he ſaid unto them, Go unto Joſeph, what he ſaith unto you, do. Joſeph then opened the ſtore-houſes, and ſold corn to the Egyptians and other nations.

Jacob, having heard that there was corn in Egypt, ordered his ſons to go down thither. They went to the number of ten; for Jacob kept Benjamin with him, leſt ſome accident ſhould happen to him by the way. When they were come into Egypt, they preſented themſelves before Joſeph, and bowed down before him. Joſeph knew his brethren, and ſeeing them lie at his feet, he remembered the dreams which he had formerly dreamed, but did not make himſelf known unto them. He ſpoke to them roughly, and treated them as ſpies, who were come to take a view of the country. But they anſwered him, My lord, we are come to buy corn; we are twelve brothers, all one man's ſons, who is in the land of Canaan. The youngeſt is left with our father, the other is dead. Well then, anſwers Joſeph, by this ye ſhall be proved. Send one of you to fetch your brother, and the reſt ſhall be kept in priſon. He thought fit however to detain but one of them. Struck with terror and remorſe, they ſaid one to another in their own language, This diſtreſs is juſtly come upon us, for being guilty concerning our brother. We ſaw the anguiſh of his ſoul, when he beſought us to have pity on him, but we would not hear

[x] This ring was the royal ſeal.

him;

him; therefore is this misfortune come upon us. Reuben, one of them, said to them, Spake I not then unto you, Do not sin against the child, and you would not hear; therefore now is his blood required of you by God. Joseph, who understood them, though they knew it not, could not refrain from weeping. He left them for a moment, and returned again to talk with them. Then he took Simeon, and bound him before their eyes; and privately commanding his officers to restore every man's money into his sack, they departed with their asses loaden with corn.

REFLECTIONS.

Qu. Why did God leave Joseph in prison so many years, without seeming to be mindful of him?

Ans. This term, which seems long indeed to a prisoner, was necessary to confirm Joseph in humility, submission to the will of God, and patience. We should have looked upon him with concern, had we seen him in bonds, and known his innocence. But God, who had a far more indulgent and tender compassion for him, left him in a condition from which we should have delivered him. He knew what was wanting to his virtue; how long the remedies requisite for his health were to last. He saw his future temptations and dangers, and prepared for him during his bondage the assistances and strength he would stand in need of after his advancement. Thus he deals with his elect; he strengthens them in patience and humility, and does not expose them to temptation, till they are duly prepared to resist it.

Qu. How came Pharaoh so easily to resolve upon the choice of Joseph for his first minister, and to invest a stranger and a foreigner with sovereign power?

Ans. It is the happiness of a nation, when a prince is inspired with a salutary thought. Whilst Joseph was speaking to the ears of Pharaoh, God instructed him in secret. He caused him to attend to the sage advice and prudent counsels of a stranger and a captive; and

and removed from him all the prejudices, which ſo frequently hinder perſons in high ſtation from ſubmitting to the evidence of truth, and acknowledging an underſtanding ſuperior to their own. He made him comprehend, that a mere human wiſdom would be improper to execute what had been ſuggeſted to him by wiſdom from above, and that it would be in vain to ſeek out for any other miniſter, than the perſon whom God had choſen. *Can we find*, [y] ſays Pharaoh, *ſuch a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?*

In talking thus, he entirely reformed the errors of a falſe policy, which conſiders virtue and religion as unſerviceable in the government of a ſtate, and finds an exact probity too great a check upon its views and projects. This ſtupid impiety is expoſed to eternal ſhame by an infidel king. He is convinced, that the more of the Spirit of God a miniſter has, the more capable he is of governing a kingdom. And the leaſt attention ſuffices to diſcover, that the oppoſite principle flows from the utter want of human underſtanding.

Qu. What muſt we think of Joſeph's glory, when raiſed almoſt to a throne?

Anſ. The Holy Ghoſt informs us in another book, that the calumnies which had been caſt upon Joſeph, were then fully diſperſed, and the authors of them convicted of forgery. [z] *As for them that had accuſed him, ſhe ſhewed them to be liars, and gave him perpetual glory.* Thus the pomp which ſurrounded him, was the triumph of virtue. It was virtue, that was expoſed a ſpectacle to all nations; that was ſeated in a magnificent chariot, from whence ſhe inſtructed the righteous in all ages, never to give way to deſpair, but to retain an invincible patience. It was before virtue, that all the world bent the knee, and Joſeph was the herald, exhorting all men to the practice of virtue, at the ſame time that the herald, who went

[y] Gen. xli. 38. [z] Wiſd. x. 14.

before him, required that external mark of reſpect to be paid to the firſt miniſter of Pharaoh.

Qu. Were Joſeph's dreams fulfilled, with reſpect to his brethren?

Anſ. They were evidently ſo, upon their falling proſtrate at his feet. [*a*] *And Joſeph's brethren came, and bowed down themſelves before him with their faces to the earth.* Thus was brought to paſs what they had been ſo apprehenſive of, when they knew not the intereſt they had in owning him for their maſter. The more they ſtrove to prevent it, and make themſelves independent of him, the more they contributed to advance his authority. They reſolved not to fall down before him, whilſt they had him amongſt them; but go to ſeek him in Egypt, to throw themſelves at his feet. They forſook him, and would have taken away his life, when ſent to them by their father; but were compelled to appear before him, after a kind of reſurrection, with fear and trembling. They fall down before him like Egypt and the other nations, whoſe example they follow, and are not afraid of being rejected by him, becauſe they look upon him as the ſaviour of the world; whereas they had before been apprehenſive of being ſubject to him, whilſt they conſidered only their own depreſſion in his advancement.

Qu. What do we learn from the remorſe of Joſeph's brethren, for the cruel treatment they had ſhewn him?

Anſ. We ſee in their ſelf-accuſations both the force of conſcience, and the advantage of the holy education Jacob gave his children, which, though not always void of offence, was ſtill never totally extinguiſhed; they revered the law, which condemned their actions. *We are verily guilty*, [*b*] ſaid they one to another, *concerning our brother, and therefore is this diſtreſs juſtly come upon us.* Men can never entirely efface the ſenſe, which God has impreſſed upon their hearts of his preſence and juſtice. They will never

[*a*] Gen. xlii. 6. [*b*] Ibid. xlii. 21.

ſucceed

ſucceed in perſuading themſelves, that ſin is in its nature indifferent, or was not ſeen, or will remain unpuniſhed. Their fears may be removed ſometimes by the patience and ſilence of their judge, or the number of their accomplices; but when vengeance comes to ſhew itſelf, they ſhall be the firſt to own that they have deſerved it, and their accomplices will then ſeem to them but as ſo many witneſſes, who are ready to accuſe and confound them.

III. *The ſecond deſcent of Jacob's children into Egypt. Joſeph made known to his brethren.* Gen. xliii, xliv, xlv.

When Jacob's children, upon their return, had told him all that had befallen them, the impriſonment of Simeon, and the expreſs order they had received to carry Benjamin down into Egypt, the ſorrowful news filled him with grief, and renewed his former concern for the loſs of Joſeph. He long refuſed to let his dear Benjamin go, in whom he placed his ſole conſolation. But at laſt, ſeeing there was a neceſſity for it, and that otherwiſe both muſt periſh by famine, he conſented to his departure upon the repeated aſſurances his other children gave him, that they would bring him back again. They all then ſet out together with preſents for Joſeph, and double the money they had found in their ſacks.

Being come into Egypt, they preſented themſelves before Joſeph. As ſoon as he ſaw them, and Benjamin with them, he ſaid to the ruler of his houſe, Bring theſe men home, and ſlay, and make ready, for theſe men ſhall eat with me at noon. The ſteward executed Joſeph's order, and brought them into his houſe. Surpriſed at this treatment, they imagined he had ſought for an occaſion againſt them, becauſe of the money they had found in their ſacks. They then began to juſtify themſelves to the ſteward, by ſaying, they knew not how it came to paſs, but as a proof of their honeſty, they had brought back the money. The ſteward encouraged them, bidding

them not be afraid; that their God, and the God of their fathers, had given them treaſure in their ſacks; but that for his part, he had their money. And ſtraitway he brought out Simeon unto them. They had water then given them, and when they had waſhed their feet, they waited for the coming in of Joſeph.

When Joſeph came home, they bowed themſelves to him to the earth, and offered him their preſents. Joſeph having graciouſly aſked them of their welfare, ſaid to them, Your father, the old man of whom you ſpake, is he yet alive? And they anſwered, Thy ſervant our father is in good health, he is yet alive. And at the ſame time they bowed themſelves down to the earth again. Joſeph caſting his eyes upon Benjamin, And is this, ſays he, your younger brother, of whom ye ſpake to me? God be gracious, adds he to him, unto thee, my ſon. And Joſeph made haſte to go out; for the ſight of his brother had affected him ſo much, that he could no longer refrain from tears. Preſently after he returned to his brethren, and having ordered victuals to be brought in, he ſat down to eat with them.

When Joſeph had eaten with his brethren, he gave a ſecret order to his ſteward, to fill their ſacks with corn, and to put every man's money in his ſack's mouth; and put my ſilver cup, ſays he, in the ſack of the youngeſt. His ſteward obeyed, and the next morning they departed with their aſſes loaden with corn. But they were ſcarce got out of the town, before Joſeph ſent his ſteward after them, to charge them with ſtealing his cup. They were much ſurpriſed to find themſelves accuſed of ſo baſe an action, which they had never ſo much as thought of. We brought back, ſaid they, the money we found in our ſacks mouths, how then ſhould we ſteal out of thy lord's houſe ſilver or gold? With whomſoever of thy ſervants it is found, let him die; and alſo we will be my lord's bondmen. The ſteward took them at their wo. eldeſt, ds; and ſearching their ſacks, beginning with the the cup was found in Benjamin's ſack.

They

They returned to the city in great affliction, and went to throw themſelves at Joſeph's feet. After ſome reproaches, he told them, that he, in whoſe ſack the cup was found, ſhould continue his ſlave. Then Judah, having aſked leave to ſpeak, repreſented to Joſeph, that if they returned to their father without bringing back with them the ſon he ſo tenderly loved, they ſhould kill him with ſorrow. I, adds he, became a ſurety for him with my father; let me therefore, I pray thee, abide in his ſtead a bondman to my lord: for I cannot return without him, leſt I ſee the evil that ſhall come upon my father.

At theſe words Joſeph could refrain himſelf no longer. He commanded all that were preſent to go out from him. Then the tears falling from his eyes, he cried aloud, and ſaid to his brethren, I am Joſeph. Does my father yet live? And they could not anſwer him, for they were troubled at his preſence. He then ſpoke gently to them, and ſaid, Come near to me. And as they came near, I am Joſeph, ſays he, your brother, whom you ſold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved and angry with yourſelves, that you ſold me hither; for God ſent me before you to preſerve life. So now it was not you that ſent me hither, but God. Go, tell my father, that God hath made me lord of all Egypt. Let him make haſte to come down, and he ſhall dwell near me; and I will nouriſh him and all his family, for there are yet five years more of famine. You ſee with your eyes, that it is I who am talking to you. Tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that you have ſeen, and make haſte to bring him down hither. And when he had ſaid thus, he fell upon Benjamin's neck, and embraced him with tears. And he kiſſed all his brethren, and after that they were encouraged to talk with him.

The news was ſoon ſpread through the whole court. Pharaoh expreſſed his ſatisfaction in it to Joſeph, and bad him preſently bring down all his family into Egypt. Joſeph diſmiſſed his brethren with proviſions for their journey, and waggons to bring down their

father, their wives and children. When they were come into the land of Canaan, they ſaid to Jacob, Joſeph your ſon is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt. Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not. But at laſt, when he had heard all that had paſt, and had ſeen the waggons, and the other preſents his ſon had ſent, he ſaid it is enough, Joſeph my ſon is yet alive, I will go and ſee him before I die. He ſoon after took his journey with all his family, and went down into Egypt. And when he had paid his reſpects to the king, Joſeph placed him in the land of Goſhen, the moſt fruitful part of Egypt, where Jacob lived ſeventy years.

REFLECTIONS.

Qu. Joſeph's diſcovering himſelf to his brethren is the moſt affecting and tender part of his ſtory, but is preceded by ſtrange circumſtances. In ſhort, how can we reconcile his forgetfulneſs and indifference towards his father and brethren, whom he leaves expoſed to the fatal conſequences of a cruel famine, and the extreme ſeverity he uſes them with in calumniating and impriſoning them; how, I ſay, can we reconcile all this with that goodneſs and tenderneſs, which cannot help ſhewing itſelf at the very time that he is uſing them thus ſeverely?

Anſ. 'Tis this ſeeming contradiction, which ſhould let us ſee, that there is ſome myſtery concealed under the outſide of an action, which otherways might offend reaſon, and appear oppoſite to the ſentiments which nature has implanted in the hearts of all mankind.

Joſeph ſold by his brethren to the Egyptians, conſidered by Jacob as dead, forgotten by all his family, honoured in the mean time and ruling in Egypt, is inconteſtably the figure of Jeſus Chriſt, delivered into the hands of the Gentiles by the Jews, generally renounced by his own nation, put to death by their cruel envy, owned and adored by the Gentiles as their Saviour and their King.

In

In the firſt journey the children of Jacob made into Egypt, 'tis ſaid, [c] *that Joſeph knew his brethren, but was not known by them.* This is the condition of the Jews. By refuſing to ſubmit to Jeſus Chriſt, they ceaſed to ſee him, but could not free themſelves from his dominion. They read the ſcriptures, and there they find their Lord without knowing him. They ſaw him, and did not receive him. He ſpoke to them in parables, becauſe they were unworthy to hear the myſteries which they refuſed to believe. But the veil will not always remain over their heart.

During the long interval their blindneſs laſts, they ſuffer a cruel famine, not of material bread, but as the prophet had foretold, of the word of God, which they are not allowed to underſtand. [d] *I will ſend a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.* The land of Canaan is condemned to a total ſterility. The true bread of life is found only in Egypt. Whoever would live muſt neceſſarily go down thither; and till Benjamin, the laſt of Jacob's children, and the figure of the latter Jews, appears there in perſon, the famine will ſorely afflict that wretched nation.

Hitherto Joſeph ſhall appear to be hard-hearted towards his brethren. He ſhall ſpeak to them as though he knew them not, with an angry voice and a rigid countenance. [e] *He made himſelf ſtrange unto them, and ſpake roughly to them.* 'Tis thus that Chriſt has long behaved towards an ungrateful and blind people. He appears not to know his brethren according to the fleſh. He ſeems to have forgotten the fathers of a faithleſs and bloody generation.

Yet Joſeph offered violence to himſelf in concealing his affection. He could not refrain from weeping; he was obliged to turn aſide, to hide his face, and withdraw from time to time to vent his tears. The pains he took to conceal them, was the figure of that ſecret mercy hid in the boſom of God, and reſerved till the time appointed in his eternal counſel. The

[c] Gen. xlii. 8. [d] Amos viii. 11. [e] Gen. xlii. 7.

promiſes of God will be accompliſhed upon Iſrael; for his gifts are without repentance, and his truth endureth for ever. But a juſt ſeverity ſuſpends the effects of a clemency, which our groans, joined to thoſe of the prophets, are to haſten.

Qu. Can Joſeph be looked upon in any other circumſtances of his life as the figure of Jeſus Chriſt?

Anſ. There are few ſaints of the Old Teſtament, in whom God has been pleaſed to expreſs ſo many circumſtances of reſemblance with his Son as in Joſeph. The bare repetition of them will be an evident proof of this obſervation.

PARTICULARS *of* AGREEMENT *between* JESUS CHRIST *and* JOSEPH.

JOSEPH.	JESUS CHRIST.
He is hated of his brethren.	He is hated by the Jews.
1. For accuſing them of ſome great crime.	1. For reproving them for their ſins.
2. For being affectionately beloved by his father.	2. For declaring himſelf to be the Son of God, and ſaying, that God himſelf called him his well-beloved Son.
3. For foretelling his future glory.	3. For foretelling, that they ſhould ſee him ſitting at the right-hand of God.
He is ſent by his father to his brethren at a diſtance.	He is ſent by God his father to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael.
His brethren conſpire againſt his life.	The Jews form a deſign of putting him to death.
He is ſold for twenty pieces of ſilver.	He is ſold for thirty pieces of ſilver.
He is given up into the hands of ſtrangers by his own brethren.	He is delivered up to the Romans by the Jews.

His garment was dipped in blood.

The humanity he was clothed with, ſuffers a bloody death.

He is condemned by Potiphar, without any one's ſpeaking in his behalf.

He is condemned, and no body ſpeaks in his defence.

He ſuffers in ſilence.

He ſuffers all kind of injuries and puniſhments, without complaining.

Placed between two criminals, he foretels the advancement of the one, and the approaching death of the other.

Placed between two thieves, he foretels the one, that he ſhould go into paradiſe, and lets the other die impenitent.

He lies three years in priſon.

He lies three days in the grave.

He arrives at glory by ſufferings and humilitions.

It behoved that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and thus enter into his glory.

He is ſet over the houſe of Pharaoh, and over all Egypt.

He is made head of the church, and every creature is made ſubject unto him.

Pharaoh alone is above him.

He is above every creature, but ſubject to God as man.

He was called the Saviour of the world.

His name of JESUS ſignifies a ſaviour, and is indeed the only one by whom we can be ſaved.

All bend the knee before him.

Every creature muſt bow at the name of Jeſus Chriſt.

The famine is in all lands; there is no bread but in Egypt, where Joſeph governs.

Poverty and error are univerſal; truth and grace are found only in the church, where Jeſus Chriſt reigns.

All

There

All are ſent back to Joſeph by Pharaoh.	There is no ſalvation, no grace but by Jeſus Chriſt.
All the neighbouring people come into Egypt to buy corn.	All nations are admitted into the church to obtain ſalvation.
Joſeph's brethren come to him, own him, fall down before him, and are fixed in Egypt.	The Jews will one day return to Jeſus Chriſt, own him, worſhip him, and enter into the church.

In all theſe applications, and I could add ſeveral others, is there any thing forced or conſtrained? Could pure chance have poſſibly thrown together ſo many reſembling circumſtances, ſo different, and at the ſame time ſo natural? I ſhould as ſoon ſay, that the moſt finiſhed and reſembling portrait was alſo the effect of mere chance. It is plain, that an intelligent hand did purpoſely contrive and apply all theſe colours to make a perfect picture, and that the deſign of God in joining together ſo many ſingular circumſtances in the life of Joſeph, was to deſcribe the principal lines in that of his Son. We ſhould therefore know the hiſtory of Joſeph only by halves, if we ſtopped at the bare ſurface, without informing ourſelves of the hidden and myſterious ſenſe, wherein the moſt eſſential part of it conſiſts, as Jeſus Chriſt is the end of the law and of all the ſcriptures.

I beg the reader to obſerve, that though theſe particulars relating to Joſeph and Jeſus Chriſt are ſo extremely natural and alike, there is no mention made of their agreement either in the goſpels, or the writings of the apoſtles; which ſhews, that beſides the figures which are explained in the New Teſtament, there are others ſo plain and evident, that we cannot reaſonably doubt of their containing alſo ſome myſtery. But we muſt be very cautious and reſerved upon this laſt kind, eſpecially when we are inſtructing youth, and principally inſiſt upon the figures of which Chriſt and his apoſtles have made the application.

A R-

ARTICLE THE SECOND.

The miraculous DELIVERANCE *of* JERUSALEM *under* HEZEKIAH.

I SHALL treat of this fact only in the life of the holy king Hezekiah, as it is one of the most signal in Sacred History, and most proper to make us sensible of the omnipotence of God, and his watchfulness over those who place their confidence in him. And here I shall barely point out the principal circumstances, which the reader may see at large, if he consults the historical books, that give an account of it, and especially the prophecies of Isaiah, which contain a very clear and express prediction of it.

[*f*] Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, was set out from Nineveh with a formidable army, designing to destroy utterly the city of Jerusalem with its king and inhabitants. [*g*] He assured himself of victory, and insulted before-hand the God of Jerusalem, saying, he would treat him as he had done the gods of all the other cities and kingdoms he had conquered.

[*b*] He knew not that he was but an instrument in the hand of God, who called him by an hissing (as the scripture expresses it) from the end of the earth, not to destroy, but to correct his people.

All opposition gave way before the victorious arms of thisprince; in a little time he made himself master of all the fortified places in the land of Judah. [*i*] Jerusalem was in great consternation. Hezekiah had taken all necessary measures to put the city in a condition to make a vigorous defence; but he relied only upon the divine assistance for its deliverance. [*k*] God had engaged himself by a solemn and fre-

[*f*] 2 Kings xviii. 13.
[*g*] Isa. x. 7, 15.
[*b*] Ibid. v. 26. vii. 11. x. 5, 6.
[*i*] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 2, 8.
[*k*] Isa. xxx.

quently

quently repeated promiſe to defend the city againſt the aſſault of the king of Aſſyria, but upon condition that the inhabitants ſhould depend only upon him, ſhould remain quiet, and not ſeek aid from the king of Egypt. *In returning and reſt ſhall ye be ſaved*, [*l*] ſaid he to them, *in quietneſs and in confidence ſhall be your ſtrength.* [*m*] He had ſeveral times declared to them, that the ſtrength of Egypt ſhould turn to their ſhame and confuſion. [*n*] To render this prediction ſtill more ſenſible to them, he had obliged the prophet Iſaiah to walk naked and barefoot through the midſt of Jeruſalem, declaring that ſuch ſhould be the fate of the Egyptians and Ethiopians.

The great men, the politicians, could not be ſatisfied to continue unactive, and rely upon the promiſe of God. [*o*] They collected a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſent deputies to the king of Egypt to implore his aſſiſtance. Several of them thought fit to retire into that country, in hopes of finding a ſecure retreat there againſt the evils with which they were threatened. God ſeveral times reproached them for it by his prophet, but always in vain. And the holy king Hezekiah inceſſantly repeated to them: [*p*] *The Lord will deliver us; Jeruſalem ſhall not be delivered into the hand of the Aſſyrians.* But they hearkened not unto him.

[*q*] This holy king, fearing he had done wrong in breaking the treaty he had made with the king of Aſſyria, reſolved, in order to have nothing to reproach himſelf with, and all poſſible right on his ſide, to make him entire ſatisfaction. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to Lachiſh, and ſaid to him, I have offended, return from me; that which thou putteſt on me I will bear. And the king of Aſſyria appointed Hezekiah to give him three hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty

[*l*] Iſa. xxx. 15.
[*m*] Ibid. 1—5.
[*n*] Ibid. xx. 1—6.
[*o*] Ibid. xxx.
[*p*] 2 Kings xviii. 32. xix. 10.
[*q*] Ibid. xviii. 19.

talents

talents of gold. This ſum he raiſed with m ficulty, and ſent it to him. There was reaſon to hope, that ſuch a ſtep would have diſarmed the rage of Sennacherib; but he grew more haughty upon it, and adding perfidy to injuſtice, he ſent immediately a large body of troops againſt Jeruſalem, with orders to Rabſhakeh, who commanded that detachment, to ſummon Hezekiah and the inhabitants to ſurrender, in the name of the great king, the king of Aſſyria. This officer diſcharged his commiſſion in terms full of contempt for the king of Judah, and inſults againſt the God of Iſrael. When Hezekiah heard it, he rent his clothes, put ſackcloth upon his loins, and went into the houſe of the Lord; from whence he diſpatched his principal officers to Iſaiah, to tell him the inſolent words of Rabſhakeh. The prophet replied, You ſhall ſay thus to your maſter, Thus ſaith the Lord, Be not afraid of the words which thou haſt heard, with which the ſervants of the king of Aſſyria have blaſphemed me. Behold, I will ſend a blaſt upon him, and he ſhall hear a rumour, and ſhall return to his own land, and I will cauſe him to fall by the ſword in his own land.

[r] In the mean time Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, had ſent meſſengers to Jeruſalem, to aſſure the inhabitants that he was coming up to their relief. And ſoon after he arrived with his whole army, joined to that of the Egyptians. [s] Upon the firſt news that Sennacherib received of it, he reſolved to march againſt him. But firſt he ſent his ambaſſadors to Hezekiah with a letter full of blaſphemies againſt the God of Iſrael. The holy king, in great affliction, went ſtrait to the temple, ſpread forth this impious letter before the Lord, and repreſented to him in a lively and pathetic prayer, that it was againſt him they fought, that the glory of his name was affected, and that for this reaſon he preſumed to aſk a miracle of him, that all the kingdoms of the earth might know, that he alone was the Lord and the true God. In that

[r] Iſa. xviii. 1, 3. [s] 2 Kings xix. 9, 34.

moment

moment Iſaiah ſent to tell Hezekiah, that the Lord had heard his prayer, and the city ſhould not even be beſieged. Whom, ſays God, addreſſing himſelf to Sennacherib, haſt thou reproached and blaſphemed? Againſt whom haſt thou exalted thy voice, and lift up thy hands on high? Even againſt the Holy One of Iſrael. Becauſe thy rage againſt me, and the tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy noſe, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou cameſt.

[*t*] The king of Ethiopia, full of confidence in the number of his troops, thought that the ſight of them would ſuffice to put the Aſſyrians to flight, and ſet Jeruſalem free. He knew not the curſe which God had denounced againſt him, for preſuming to declare himſelf the protector and deliverer of Jeruſalem and the people of God, as though both had been without hope or refuge, unleſs he had haſtened to take upon him their defence. His army was cut to pieces. The ſlaughter was ſo great, and the flight ſo ſwift, that there was no perſon left to bury the dead. After this victory, the king of Aſſyria carried the war into Egypt itſelf. All there was in diſorder and confuſion. God had taken away counſel and prudence from the wiſe counſellors of Egypt, and mingled a perverſe ſpirit in the midſt thereof. He deprived their leaders of all ſtrength and courage; ſo that they made no reſiſtance, and the whole country lay expoſed to the diſcretion of an avaricious and cruel prince, who carried away an infinite number of captives, as [*u*] Iſaiah had foretold.

[*x*] When Sennacherib had returned with his victorious troops before Jeruſalem, it is eaſy to imagine how great the conſternation of the city muſt have been. They ſaw an immenſe army encamped at their gates, and all the neighbouring country covered with chariots of war. The enemy was preparing to lay ſiege to the city, and lift up their voice againſt mount Sion. The time of their deſtruction ſeemed to draw nigh; but it was that of divine mercy, and their deliverance.

[*t*] Iſa. xviii, xix. [*u*] Ibid. xx. [*x*] Ibid. xxii. 1, 5, 7.

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That very night (which doubtleſs preceded the day appointed for a general attack) the angel of the Lord came into the camp of the Aſſyrians, and ſlew an hundred and fourſcore and five thouſand men. Sennacherib riſing at the break of day, beheld the dead bodies, and immediately returned to Nineveh, where he was ſoon after ſlain by his own ſons in the temple, and in the preſence of his gods.

REFLECTIONS.

I. *Sennacherib the Inſtrument of God's Wrath.*

[*y*] Iſaiah, foretelling the departure of Sennacherib and his army, ſpeaks of God in a manner ſuitable to the grandeur and majeſty of the Almighty. He has only to give the ſignal, and ſet up the ſtandard, and all the princes of the earth repair to it. All the kings of the world are but as flies in compariſon of him. All their power is weakneſs in his ſight. [*z*] He hiſſes for them, and they march. It was a great conſolation to the faithful of thoſe days, to know for certain that all the evils which befel them were ordained by divine providence; that God ſent them as remedies, and not barely as puniſhments; that men were only the miniſters of his juſtice; and that they were guided by his wiſdom at the time they were thinking to gratify their own paſſions.

[*a*] It is God himſelf, that reveals to us the extravagant imaginations of Sennacherib, who being no more than a ſervant, thinks himſelf the maſter, and not ſeeing the hand which employs him, aſcribes all to his own, and fears not to ſet himſelf in the place of God. Can the inſtrument, ſays God, boaſt itſelf againſt the artiſt who makes uſe of it? Does the work properly belong to the inſtrument or the workman? Is it not the height of folly, that the inſtrument ſhould

[*y*] Iſa. vii. 18. x. 5.
[*z*] *The Lord ſhall hiſs for the fly —and for the bee that is in the land of Aſſyria.* Iſa. vii. 18.
[*a*] Ibid. x. 7—15.

riſe

riſe up againſt the hand and underſtanding that employ it? Yet thus did the king of Aſſyria think and act.

II. *The* GREAT MEN APPLY *to the* KINGS *of* ETHIOPIA *and* EGYPT.

We ſee here how dangerous it is to prefer the views of human prudence to thoſe of faith. God had promiſed to deliver Jeruſalem, provided the inhabitants would keep themſelves quiet, and place their ſole confidence in him. Here they were to fix. But the aſſiſtance of God was inviſible, and ſeemed at a diſtance. The danger was preſent and augmented daily. The ſuccours of Egypt were nigh at hand, and ſeemed certain. According to all the rules of human policy, nothing ought to have been omitted towards obtaining the protection of two ſuch powerful kings, as thoſe of Egypt and Ethiopia. Beſides, would it not be tempting God, to expect a miracle? And in the extreme danger they were, would it not be folly to continue unactive? The event will ſhew, whether theſe politicians or Hezekiah reaſoned moſt juſtly.

III. *The impious* SPEECHES, *and blaſpheming* LETTER *of* SENNACHERIB.

[*b*] The Speeches and Letter of Sennacherib with reaſon appear impious, ſenſeleſs, and deteſtable in the mouth of a worm againſt the majeſty of heaven. This prince, blinded by his ſucceſs, and not knowing whence it aroſe, entertained the ſame notions of the God of Judah, as of all the other gods, whoſe power, in his opinion, was confined to certain regions, and ſome particular effects, and were capable of being entirely overthrown, notwithſtanding their divinity. He ſaw nothing in the God of Iſrael to diſtinguiſh him from the multitude of gods he had conquered. His empire was incloſed within the narrow limits of a ſmall country, and confined to the mountains. His name

[*b*] 2 Kings xix.

was

was ſcarce known among the neighbouring nations. This God had already ſuffered the ten tribes to be carried away by the kings of Nineveh. He had juſt loſt all the fortified places of the tribe of Judah, which alone was left him; and all his dominions, all his people, all his worſhippers, and his whole religion were reduced to a ſingle city, in all outward appearance without any power to ſecure itſelf from the deſtruction, which Sennacherib looked upon as inevitable.

'Tis admirable to ſee in what manner God is pleaſed to confound the inſolent pride of this prince, who cauſed himſelf to be called the great king, the king by way of excellence; who conſidered himſelf as an invincible conqueror, as the lord of the earth, and the ſubduer of men and gods. This prince, ſo proud and haughty, the God of Iſrael will treat as a wild beaſt; he will put a hook in his noſe, and a bridle in his mouth, and turn him back with diſgrace and infamy by the ſame way that he came triumphant and glorious. Such is the fate of human pride.

IV. *The* DEFEAT *of the* KING *of* ETHIOPIA.

'Tis eaſy to diſcern in the puniſhment of the king of Ethiopia the jealouſy of the Lord of hoſts againſt whomever pretends to be his rival, or to ſhare with him in glory, by preſuming to aſſiſt him in the preſervation of his inheritance, or in freeing it from difficulties wherein his promiſes had too far engaged it: and in the ſad fate of the Iſraelites, who had recourſe to Egypt, we may plainly ſee the condemnation of all ſuch, as either doubt of the promiſes made to the church, whereof Jeruſalem is certainly the figure, or who think that, under certain difficult and dangerous circumſtances, they ſtand in need of human ſtrength and wiſdom.

V. *The* ARMY *of the* ASSYRIANS CUT OFF *by the* DESTROYING ANGEL.

The ſhort and plain manner, in which this wonderful event is related in the hiſtorical books, is truly

worthy of the grandeur of God. *And it came to paſs that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and ſmote in the camp of the Aſſyrians an hundred fourſcore and five thouſand.* With what eaſe can God bring down the pride of an haughty prince, deſtroy ſo many brave officers, and exterminate ſo numerous and formidable an army? It coſts him but a blaſt: *I will ſend,* ſaid he, *a blaſt upon him, and he ſhall return into his own land.*

But the ſublimity that appears in the prophet's ſtyle, who foretold all the circumſtances of this great event, is no leſs worthy the Divine Majeſty, who here diſplayed his omnipotence in ſo wonderful a manner. With what noble ideas do the expreſſions of Iſaiah preſent us? [*c*] When all ſeemed deſperate, I will change the face of affairs in a moment, ſaid the Lord, *it ſhall be at an inſtant, ſuddenly.* When the enemies of Jeruſalem, who know not that they act by my commiſſion, ſhall think themſelves maſters, I will make them as ſmall as the duſt in one night. I will ſcatter them as a whirlwind. They ſhall find no general in the morning, not one officer with his company; and the confidence they had that Jeruſalem was theirs, ſhall be like the imagination of an hungry man in his dream, who thinks that he eats, but wakes and finds himſelf empty. *It ſhall even be as when a hungry man dreameth, and behold he eateth; and he awaketh, and his ſoul is empty.*

The ſenſeleſs pride of Sennacherib, his impious blaſphemies, awaken the Lord, who ſeemed as though he were aſleep. And then they underſtand the full force and energy of thoſe words, [*d*] *Now will I ariſe, now will I be exalted, now will I lift up myſelf.* From his throne and ſanctuary upon mount Sion God ſends forth thunder and lightning; from his altar in Jeruſalem, the ſacred furnace, where a perpetual fire burns to his glory, proceeds avenging flames to devour his

[*c*] Iſa. xxix. 5, 8.

[*d*] Chap. xxxiii. 10. The French tranſlation loſes a great part of the beauty of this, by not repeating the word *now*. "Je me "leverai maintenant, je ſignalerai "ma grandeur, je ferai eclater ma "puiſſance."

enemies.

enemies. [e] *Thus ſaith the Lord, whoſe fire is in Sion, and whoſe furnace is in Jeruſalem.*

In effect, [f] Iſaiah deſcribes the ſurpriſing deſtruction of a whole army, offered up to the juſt vengeance of a jealous God ſo unworthily inſulted, as a public and ſolemn ſacrifice. The hand of the Lord, ſays the prophet, ſhall ſmite and ſcatter, and univerſally deſtroy. The terrible noiſe of his thunder ſhall be to him and his ſervants, whom he undertakes to defend, as an agreeable concert of tabrets and harps, and other inſtruments of muſic, which upon great feaſts accompany the offering of ſacrifice; and the Aſſyrians ſacrificed to his vengeance ſhall be to him as a ſolemn victim.

VI. REASONS *of* GOD'S PATIENCE *in* BEARING *with* SENNACHERIB, *and his* SLOWNESS *in the* DELIVERANCE *of* JERUSALEM.

No one knows the deſigns of God before they are executed; and whilſt they are accompliſhing, it is impoſſible to point out where numberleſs events will end, whereof we can neither perceive the connexion, the uſes, nor motives, and which ſeem to induce the neceſſity of univerſal ruin.

When the public evils began to ſhew themſelves in the time of Hezekiah, they ſeemed to be extreme. When all the country was ruined, and the cities deſtroyed, thoſe misfortunes were believed without reſource, and incapable of remedy. But when Jeruſalem ſaw the formidable army of the Aſſyrians at their gates, the famine and the peſtilence raging within, and all human hope cut off by the defeat of the Ethiopians, who were coming up to their relief; it then ſeemed folly to expect a miraculous protection, ſince God had oppoſed all outward means of help, and declared in favour of the enemy.

A weak faith was incapable of ſupporting ſo long a trial, and thoſe who had the ſtrongeſt and moſt per-

[e] Iſa. xxxi. 8, 9. [f] Ibid. xxx. 30, 32.

ſevering, were aſtoniſhed at the ſlowneſs wherewith God fulfilled his promiſes, and ſurpriſed at his patience in ſuffering all to periſh, and be reduced almoſt to a condition of not being the better for his aſſiſtance. But it belongs not to the clay to judge of the time that is taken up in the faſhioning it. The firſt ſtrokes of the chiſel do not poliſh a ſtone, or form a beautiful ſtatue: nor is it a moderate fire that will melt and purify gold. God attends to his own wiſdom and mercy and not to the thoughts of man, in compleating his works. He does not leave them imperfect, in compliance with their ſhort views or impatience, he perſeveres in his deſigns, though he deſpiſes not the groans and tears of his ſervants, till all that he has reſolved is accompliſhed.

He then lays aſide all the preparations, ſprings, and movements he made uſe of, to bring about his works. He ſtops the hands which he conducted; he ſuſpends the action of the inſtruments, which are now no longer ſerviceable; he permits not the chiſel to cut the figure that is thoroughly perfected; and he breaks in pieces abundance of materials, that were employed only for a ſeaſon.

'Twas thus God dealt with Sennacherib: he uſed him as an inſtrument to correct his people, and purify Jeruſalem. After he had reduced the city to a ſmall number of righteous perſons, who were deeply humbled under his afflicting hand, he then thought of puniſhing the blaſphemies of that prince, whoſe pride had led him into impiety. *When the Lord had performed his whole work upon mount Sion, and on Jeruſalem, then,* ſaid he, *I will puniſh the fruit of the ſtout heart of the king of Aſſyria, and the glory of his high looks.*

VII. *Truſt in* GOD *the prevailing* CHARACTER *of* HEZEKIAH.

'Tis remarkable, that the Holy Ghoſt, the ſole good judge of real merit, in drawing the character of ſo holy a prince as Hezekiah, reſts ſatisfied with ſaying,

ing, that he truſted in the Lord God of Iſrael. [g] The ſcripture adds, that he carried this virtue farther than any of the kings of Judah, who came after him, or went before him. Faith indeed was never put to ſo long and ſo ſevere a trial. All was againſt him. It looked like folly to wait any longer for the aſſiſtance of heaven, when all was deſperate, and to refuſe upon a ſingle man's word either to ſubmit to the king of Aſſyria, or to implore any foreign aid. But depending ſtrongly upon the word of God, he continued firm, as though he had ſeen the Inviſible, and relied upon the promiſe by firmly perſiſting in an unvariable hope, without ſuffering himſelf to be enfeebled by any of the moſt preſſing motives. The event juſtified his conduct. When the protection of God was manifeſted at laſt by the entire deſtruction of the army of the Aſſyrians, he who the night before was looked upon by all as weak and ſenſeleſs, became on a ſudden in the eyes of the ſame judges the wiſeſt man in the world, for having truſted in the Almighty. Thus it will always be, and whoſoever ſhall put their truſt in God, ſhall never be confounded.

VII. *The* DELIVERANCE *of* JERUSALEM *the* FIGURE *of the* CHURCH.

The principal advantage to be drawn from this hiſtory, is to compare what here befel Jeruſalem with what has befallen the church in all ages, to ſee its dangers, its remedies, and the promiſe of a certain victory over all its enemies. One verſe of the forty-ſeventh Pſalm, which is undoubtedly prophetical, and reſpects this event, may aſſiſt us in making the compariſon, *Walk about Zion, and go round about her, and tell the towers thereof.* 'Tis the prophet that ſpeaks in the name of the prince and the heads of the people, who after ſo ſudden and miraculous a deliverance, exhorts the reſt of the citizens to go round Jeruſalem

[g] 2 Kings xviii. 5.

within and without, to be witneſs themſelves of the good condition of the fortifications. See, ſaid they to them, whether the enemy has made ſo much as one ſingle breach, if they have broke down one tower, or can boaſt of any advantage gained over the vigilance and ſtrength of him, who is the protector of it. [*h*] *Circumdatur Sion, & circuite eam; numerate turres ejus.*

The church from its birth has been often attacked, beſieged on every ſide, and to all outward appearance ready to periſh. But all its enemies have had the fate of Sennacherib; and after many fears and troubles, her faith has remained always pure, her doctrine has prevailed over all errors, her foundations have been unſhaken, and ſhe has never been found to have ſuffered any loſs, or been obliged to give up any of her tenets, or to depart from the ancient tradition which ſerves her as a rampart againſt new enemies that continually ſucceed one another.

Thus it will be in all ages, and it will be an equal misfortune to attack the church, or to deſpair of God's protection of it, and to think it ſtands in need of human ſuccour to defend it. All thoſe, who thought thus of Jeruſalem, periſhed; but the faith of thoſe, who waited for God's aſſiſtance, and did not doubt of his promiſes, ſaved them, and enriched them with the ſpoils of their enemies.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH.

PROPHECIES.

WE may diſtinguiſh Prophecies into two ſorts. Some are purely ſpiritual, and relate only to Jeſus Chriſt and the church. Of this ſort is the firſt and moſt ancient of all, when God, after Adam's fall, curſed the ſerpent, and declared that [*i*] the ſeed of the woman would bruiſe his head, *i. e.* the Saviour of the world, who ſhould one day come to deſtroy the

[*h*] *So S. Jerome tranſlates this verſe.* [*i*] Gen. iii. 15.

power

power of the devil. Such alſo were thoſe of [k] Jacob, who ſpecifies the time of the Meſſiah's coming; and of [l] Daniel, who points out in a very particular manner the expreſs time of the Meſſiah's ſuffering, and the conſequences of his death.

There are Prophecies of another kind, which we may call hiſtorical, that foretel temporal events; and theſe are uſually predictions and types of other events, which are more important and ſpiritual. We have ſeen ſeveral of this ſort in the hiſtory of Sennacherib, whereof the prophet Iſaiah had long before ſpecified abundance of circumſtances, which are not to be met with in the hiſtorical books. There is another very famous prediction in the ſame prophet, concerning the conqueſt of Babylon by Cyrus, who is expreſsly mentioned by name two hundred years before he was born, and foretelling the deliverance of the people of the Jews. It is eaſily diſcernible, that theſe two great events, which include almoſt all the Prophecies of Iſaiah, the miraculous deliverance of Jeruſalem under king Hezekiah, and the conqueſt of Babylon, with the ſubſequent deliverance of the Jews in captivity there, were the figure and pledge of other events relating to religion.

One might refer to a third ſort of Prophecies what I am now going to explain, whereof one part is purely hiſtorical, and the other purely ſpiritual. It is the famous prediction of Daniel, occaſioned by the image made up of different metals. I chuſe this in preference to the reſt, as it peculiarly relates to a part of profane hiſtory, of which I ſhall ſoon treat.

The PROPHECY *of* DANIEL,

Occaſioned by the STATUE *of* DIFFERENT METALS.

WHILST Daniel was very young, the king of Babylon had a myſterious dream, of which he loſt the diſtinct idea, but however preſerved a con-

[k] Gen. xlix. 10. [l] Dan. ix. 24, 27.

fuſed notion of it, that troubled him. He required therefore of the wiſe men of Babylon, that they ſhould tell him what it was he had forgot, and withal give him the interpretation of it, under the penalty of being put to death, in caſe they failed: Daniel, who was included in the general order, with three young Hebrews, who were expoſed to the ſame danger, had recourſe to prayer, and learned [*m*] by divine revelation what he could not know by any natural means, and [*n*] all the wiſe men of Babylon had agreed was otherwiſe impoſſible to be known.

"Thou, O king, then, ſays Daniel to him, ſaweſt, "and behold a great image: this great image, whoſe "brightneſs was excellent, ſtood before thee, and "the form thereof was terrible. This image's head "was of fine gold, his breaſt and his arms of ſilver, "his belly and his thighs of braſs, his legs of iron, "his feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou ſaweſt, "till that a ſtone was cut out without hands, which "ſmote the image upon his feet, that were of iron or "clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, "the clay, the braſs, the ſilver, and the gold broken "to pieces together, and became like the chaff of "the ſummer threſhing-floors, and the wind car-"ried them away, that no place was found for them; "and the ſtone that ſmote the image became a great "mountain, and filled the whole earth."

To this firſt revelation Daniel added the interpretation of the dream. "Thou, O king, ſaid he, art "this head of gold; and after thee ſhall ariſe another "kingdom inferior to thee, which ſhall be of ſilver; "and another third kingdom of braſs, which ſhall rule "over the whole earth. And the fourth kingdom "ſhall be ſtrong as iron; and as iron breaketh in "pieces and ſubdueth all things, ſhall it break in "pieces and bruiſe." He then explains what was meant by the feet being part of iron and part of clay, and thus goes on, "And in the days of theſe kings "ſhall the God of heaven ſet up a kingdom, which

[*m*] Dan. ii. 19, 28. [*n*] Ver. 11.

"ſhall

" ſhall not be deſtroyed; and the kingdom ſhall not " be left to other people, but it ſhall break in pieces " and conſume all theſe kingdoms, and it ſhall ſtand " for ever."

This Prophecy of Daniel's has two parts, and may be conſidered as hiſtorical and ſpiritual. In the firſt he plainly points out the four great monarchies; of the Babylonians, where Nebuchadnezzar actually reigned; of the Medes and Perſians; of the Greeks and Macedonians; and of the Romans; and the very order of their ſucceſſion is a proof of it. In the ſecond he deſcribes the kingdom of Chriſt, or the church, in magnificent terms, which was to ſurvive to the ruin of all the reſt, and to ſubſiſt to all eternity.

A Chriſtian maſter in explaining theſe Prophecies, ſhould be very careful to make youth ſenſible of the evident proof they contain of the truth of their religion. From whence could Daniel learn this ſucceſſion and order of different monarchies? [o] Who could diſcover to him the change of empires, but he who is Lord both of empires and the terms of their duration, who has fixed all things by his decrees, and reveals the knowledge of them to whom he pleaſes by a ſupernatural light?

As youth are alſo to be inſtructed in profane hiſtory, it will be expedient, upon occaſion of the Prophecy I have juſt mentioned, to make them obſerve that the ſame prophet [p] has elſewhere deſcribed the four great monarchies under the figure of four beaſts; and to dwell ſome time upon another prediction mentioned in the following chapter, relating to Alexander the Great, which is one of the cleareſt and moſt circumſtantial in the whole ſcripture.

The prophet, [q] after having expreſſed the monarchies of the Perſians and Macedonians under the figure of

[o] He changeth the times and the ſeaſons, he removeth kings and ſetteth up kings: he revealeth the deep and ſecret things, and the light dwelleth with him. Dan. ii. 21, 22.

[p] Chap. vii.

[q] And behold a ram, which had two horns, and the two horns were high, but the one was higher than the other. . . And behold an he-goat came from the weſt, on the face

of two beaſts, [r] thus clearly explains himſelf: "The "ram, which thou ſaweſt, having two horns, are the "kings of Media and Perſia: and the rough goat is "the king of Grecia; and the great horn that is be-"tween his eyes, is the firſt king."

What can the moſt obſtinate incredulity object to a Prophecy ſo clear and evident as this? By what means did Daniel ſee that the empire of the Perſians was to be deſtroyed by that of the Greeks, which was ſo abſolutely improbable? How could he know the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts, which he deſcribes ſo beautifully by ſaying, [s] that he touched not the earth? *non tangebat terram?* How could he know, [t] that Alexander would have no ſon to ſucceed him? that his empire would be divided into four principal kingdoms? that his ſucceſſors would be of his own nation and not of his kindred? and that out of the ruins of a monarchy ſo ſuddenly raiſed, ſhould be formed diſtinct eſtates in the eaſt and weſt, the north and ſouth?

In explaining this Prophecy to youth, they muſt not forget to obſerve to them what [u] Joſephus the hiſtorian ſays upon the occaſion of Alexander's entry into Jeruſalem. This prince advanced towards the city in great indignation againſt the Jews, who had declared in favour of Darius, and aſſiſted him with their troops. The high-prieſt Jaddus, in conſequence of a revelation which had been made him, went in proceſſion to meet Alexander, cloathed in his pontifical robes, with all the other prieſts in their proper veſtments, and the Levites in white. As ſoon as Alexander ſaw him, he bowed down himſelf to the ground before him, and

face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground. . . And when he was come cloſe to the ram he was moved with choler againſt him . . . and caſt him down to the ground, and ſtamped upon him with his feet. Dan. viii. 3, &c.

[r] Ver. 20, 21.

[s] Ver. 5.

[t] And a mighty king ſhall ſtand up, that ſhall rule with great dominion . . . . and his kingdom ſhall be broken and ſhall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion, which he ruled. Dan. xi. 34.

Four kingdoms ſhall ſtand up out of the nation, but not in his power. Dan. viii. 22.

[u] Joſeph. Hiſt. Jud. lib. 11. c. 8.

worſhipped

worſhipped the God whoſe miniſter he was, and whoſe venerable name he bore on his forehead. And whilſt all around him were aſtoniſhed at ſo ſurpriſing a ſpectacle, the king declared, that the king of the Jews had appeared to him in Macedonia, in the ſame habit his high-prieſt wore, had encouraged him to croſs the Helleſpont, and aſſured him he would march at the head of his army, and ſecure him the conqueſt of the Perſian empire. Alexander ſurrounded by the prieſts, entered Jeruſalem, went up into the temple, and offered ſacrifices to God in the manner the high-prieſt directed. He then ſhewed him the book of Daniel, in which it was written, that a Grecian prince ſhould deſtroy the empire of the Perſians, which gave Alexander great ſatisfaction.

Though this were only a matter of bare curioſity, ſo agreeable and entertaining a piece of hiſtory, ſuch evident and ſurpriſing Prophecies, might well deſerve to be related to youth. But how much may it turn to the ſervice of religion, to make them obſerve the wonderful harmony and connexion it has pleaſed God to place between the different predictions of the prophets, whereof ſome, as I have already taken notice, are of uſe to confirm the reſt, and all together form a degree of evidence and conviction, to which nothing can be added? And with this reflection I ſhall conclude this article concerning Prophecies.

REFLECTIONS *upon the* PROPHECIES.

If the prophets had only foretold events at a diſtance, mankind muſt have waited long, before they could know whether they were prophets or no, and they could have no authority during their lives.

If on the other ſide, they had foretold only events that were nigh at hand, they might have been ſuſpected of coming at the knowledge of them by natural means, and there might have ſeemed the leſs reaſon to believe, that they ſpoke by the Spirit of God.

And

And if there had been no connexion betwixt the near and remote events, by the predictions which were to be accomplished during the interval, the distance between the two extremes would have rendered their Prophecies useless, the first being forgot, and the last not expected.

By the accomplishment of the first the prophet acquired a just authority, and induced an expectation of the fulfilling of those that followed. These added to his authority an entire certainty, that his knowledge came from God, and that what was revealed, with reference to the most distant times, would as infallibly come to pass, as what had been foretold concerning times that were nearer. The public monuments attested what was already fulfilled, the memory of it was handed down to the children: and these connecting what fell out in their days with what had fallen out in the times of their fathers, left to their posterity a profound veneration for the prophets who had foretold it, and a firm confidence that all that was contained in the rest of their predictions would as certainly be accomplished.

Thus their books have deservedly been looked upon as divinely inspired. The proof was certain, and suited to the capacity of all mankind. They gave credit to what was to come from what they saw at present. They were persuaded the revelation came from God, because it was infallible, and passed all human understanding; and they would have made a quite contrary conclusion, if any of the events had not answered the prediction. "Hear now this word, that I speak in "thine ears," [x] said the prophet Jeremiah to a man that pretended to be sent from God, "and in the ears "of all the people. The prophets, that have been "before me and before thee of old, prophesied both "against many countries, and against great kingdoms "of war, and of evil, and of pestilence. The pro-"phet which prophesieth of peace, when the word of

[x] Jer. xxviii. 7, 8, 9.

"the

" the prophet ſhall come to paſs, then ſhall the pro-
" phet be known, that the Lord hath truly ſent him."

This then was their rule; a rule plain and eaſy, as capable of being applied with certainty by the common people as perſons of greater abilities, and wherein it was not poſſible for either to miſtake.

The little time their ordinary ſtudies leave youth, does not admit a great number of hiſtorical or prophetical facts to be explained to them in any great extent. But if a judicious choice was made of them, and they were put upon reading ſome every year, and theſe attended with reflections ſuited to their underſtandings, this ſmall number, in my opinion, might very much contribute to inſpire them with a great reverence for religion, give them a great taſte for the holy ſcriptures, and teach them in what ſpirit, and with what principles they ought to read them when they ſhall have leiſure.

PART THE THIRD.

Of Profane History.

I SHALL follow the ſame order upon this head, as I have obſerved in treating ſacred hiſtory; that is, I ſhall firſt lay down ſome principles, which may be uſeful to direct youth in the ſtudy of Profane Hiſtory; and afterwards apply them to ſome particular facts by reflections annexed.

CHAP. I.

Rules *and* Principles *for the* Study *of* Profane History.

THESE principles may be reduced to ſix or ſeven: to reduce this ſtudy to order and method: to obſerve what relates to uſages and cuſtoms: to enquire particularly and above all things after the truth: to endeavour to find out the cauſes of the riſe and fall of

of empires, of the gaining or loſing of battles, and events of the like nature: to ſtudy the character of the nations and great men mentioned in hiſtory: to be attentive to ſuch inſtructions as concern moral excellency and the conduct of life: and laſtly, carefully to note every thing that relates to religion.

SECT. I.

ORDER *and* METHOD *neceſſary for* STUDYING HISTORY *to* ADVANTAGE.

One thing, which may very much contribute to the bringing this ſtudy into order and method, is to divide the whole body of an hiſtory into certain parts and intervals, which at once preſent the mind a kind of general plan of the whole hiſtory, point out the principal events, and ſhew us the ſeries and duration of them. Theſe diviſions muſt not be too many, leſt they throw us into confuſion and obſcurity.

Thus the whole time of the Roman hiſtory from Romulus to Auguſtus, which takes in ſeven hundred and twenty-three years, may be divided into five parts.

An. U. C. 1. The firſt is the reigns of the ſeven kings of Rome, which laſted two hundred and forty-four years.

244. The ſecond is from the eſtabliſhment of the conſuls to the conqueſt of Rome, and takes in an hundred and twenty years. It includes the eſtabliſhment of the conſuls, the tribunes of the people, the decemvirs, the military tribunes with conſular power, the ſiege and conqueſt of Veii.

364. The third is from the ſacking of Rome to the firſt Punic war, and takes in an hundred and twenty-four years. It includes the conqueſt of Rome by the Gauls, the wars with the Samnites, and againſt Pyrrhus.

An. U. C. 488. The fourth is from the beginning of the firſt to the end of the third Punic war, and takes in an hundred and twenty years. It includes the firſt

and

and ſecond Punic wars, the wars againſt Philip king of Macedon, Antiochus king of Aſia, Perſeus the laſt king of Macedon, the Numantines in Spain; and laſtly, the third Punic war, which ended with the conqueſt and deſtruction of Carthage.

608. The fifth is from the deſtruction of Carthage to the change of the Roman republic into a monarchy under Auguſtus, and takes in an hundred and fifteen years. It includes the war of Achaia, and the deſtruction of Corinth; the domeſtic troubles raiſed by the Gracchi, the wars againſt Jugurtha, the allies, and Mythridates; the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, Cæſar and Pompey, Anthony and Octavius. This laſt war ended with the battle of Actium, (U. C. 723.) and the ſovereign authority of Octavius, who was afterwards ſurnamed Auguſtus.

I have already obſerved, in treating ſacred hiſtory, the uſe we ſhould make of chronology, and ſhall forbear to repeat what I have already ſaid upon this ſubject.

Geography alſo is abſolutely neceſſary for youth, and for want of learning it when they are young, abundance of perſons continue ignorant of it all the reſt of their lives, and expoſe themſelves to miſtakes upon this article, which make them ridiculous. One quarter of an hour regularly ſpent every day in this ſtudy is enough to make them perfect in it. After the general principles are explained to them, they muſt never be ſuffered to paſs by any conſiderable town, or any river mentioned in their authors, without ſhewing their places in the maps. They muſt learn likewiſe to point out the ſituation of every city, with reference to other places that are ſpoke of. Thus they will ſay that Evreux lies weſt of Paris, Châlone upon Marne on the eaſt, Amiens on the north, and Orleans on the ſouth. They muſt trace the rivers from their ſource to the place where they throw themſelves into the ſea, or ſome greater river, and point out the conſiderable towns that lie in their paſſage. When they are tolerably well inſtructed, they may be made to travel over a map,

or

or may be taught by word of mouth, by aſking them, for inſtance, what rout they would take to go from Paris to Conſtantinople, and ſo of the other provinces. To render this ſtudy leſs dry and diſagreeable it would not be amiſs to add to it certain ſhort ſtories, which might ſerve to fix an idea of the towns more firmly in the minds of youth, and would teach them a great many curious matters as they went on. Theſe are to be found in ſeveral geographical treatiſes, wrote in French; from which the maſters may eaſily extract ſuch as they ſhall judge moſt proper for youth.

SECT. II.

To obſerve what relates to the LAWS, MANNERS, *and* CUSTOMS *of* COUNTRIES.

It is of no ſmall conſequence, whilſt we are upon the ſtudy of hiſtory, to take notice of the different cuſtoms of countries, the invention of arts, the various manners of living, building, fighting, diſpoſing of ſieges, or defending of towns, of building ſhips, and ſailing; the ceremonies of their marriages, funerals, and ſacrifices; in a word, whatever relates to cuſtoms and antiquity. I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of this hereafter.

What I have hitherto taken notice of is, if I may ſo ſay, but the ſkeleton of hiſtory, the obſervations I am going to make are in a manner the ſoul of it, and contain the moſt uſeful part of this ſtudy.

SECT. III.

Principally to enquire after TRUTH.

That in which the moſt eſſential quality and moſt indiſpenſable duty of an hiſtorian conſiſts, points out at the ſame time what ſhould be the principal care of every reader of hiſtory. [y] No body is ignorant

[y] Quis neſcit primam eſſe hiſtoriæ legem, ne quid falſi dicere audeat; deinde, ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua ſuſpicio gratiæ ſit in ſcribendo, ne qua ſimultatis. L. 2. de Orat. n. 62.

that

that an hiſtorian ſhould above all things preſcribe this rule to himſelf; To be free from all paſſion and prejudice; never to preſume to advance any falſhoods, and have always courage to ſpeak the truth. Negligences in his ſtyle may be paſſed over, but want of ſincerity is inexcuſable; [z] and herein lies the difference between an hiſtory and a poem. As the principal end of a poem is to divert the reader, it neceſſarily ſhocks and offends him, if it wants art or elegance; whereas an hiſtory, however written, is always ſure to give pleaſure, if it is true, as it ſatisfies a deſire natural to mankind, who are fond of knowing, and always curious to learn ſomething new, but cannot bear to be put off with falſhood inſtead of truth, or idle imaginations for real facts. Hence we ſee that hiſtorians, to gain credit with their readers, generally begin with profeſſing an exact and ſcrupulous ſincerity, equally exempt from love and hatred, hope and fear, as may be particularly obſerved in Salluſt and Tacitus.

Truth therefore is to be ſought for in hiſtory, before all things. Good writers juſtly endeavour to render it more agreeable, by the elegance and embelliſhments of language, and a judicious maſter will not fail to point out all the graces and beauties of an hiſtorian; but he will not ſuffer his ſcholars to be dazzled by a vain pomp of words, to prefer flowers to fruits, be leſs attentive to truth herſelf than her dreſs, and ſet a greater value upon the eloquence of an hiſtorian, than upon his exactneſs and fidelity in relating facts. Quintilian in the character he draws of a Greek hiſtorian, teaches us to diſtinguiſh thus in a few words. "The hiſtory of Clitarchus, ſays he, is valued for

[z] Intelligo te, frater, alias in hiſtoria leges obſervandas putare, alias in poëmate: quippe cùm in illa ad veritatem cuncta referantur, in hac ad delectationem pleraque. Cic. l. 1. de leg. n. 4, 5.

Orationi & carmini eſt parva gratia, niſi eloquentia ſit ſumma: hiſtoria quoquo modo ſcripta delectat. Sunt enim homines natura curioſi, & qualibet nuda rerum cognitione capiuntur, ut qui ſermunculis etiam fabelliſque ducantur. Plin. Ep. 8. l. 5.

" its ſtyle, and deſpiſed for its want of veracity." *Clitarchi probatur ingenium, fides infamatur.*

We muſt therefore caution youth to be upon their guard, when they read ſuch hiſtories as were written during the lives of the princes of whom they treat, as it ſeldom happens that they are dictated by truth, as the deſire of pleaſing him who diſtributes fortunes and honours may have had a ſhare in them. The beſt princes are not always inſenſible to flattery, and there is a ſecret thirſt of praiſe and glory implanted in all mankind, that ought to render ſuch hiſtories ſuſpected. But if flattery makes an hiſtorian contemptible, detraction muſt make him odious. Both, [*a*] ſays Tacitus, are equally injurious to truth; but with this difference, we eaſily defend ourſelves againſt the one, as it is hateful to all the world, and borders upon ſlavery; and we readily give way to the other, as it deceives us by a falſe image of liberty, and finds an agreeable admittance into the mind.

There are ſome hiſtorians, who, though very deſerving in other reſpects, through the bad taſte of the age they lived in, or too great credulity, have interſperſed abundance of fables in their writings, as [*b*] Tully obſerves of Herodotus and Theopompus.

Such, for inſtance, is what the firſt reports of the birth of Cyrus, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. We excuſe antiquity, [*c*] ſays Livy, for rather chuſing to give us ſtrange ſtories than true ones, and endeavouring to embelliſh and adorn the original of great towns and empires with ſuch fictions as are more ſuitable to fable than hiſtory. But we muſt accuſtom youth in reading ſuch ſort of authors, to diſtinguiſh between the true and falſe; and muſt alſo tell them that reaſon and equity require that they ſhould not reject all a writer ſays, becauſe ſome things are

[*a*] Veritas pluribus modis infracta . . . libidine aſſentandi, aut rurſus odio adverſùs dominates. . . Sed ambitionem ſcriptoris facilè averſeris: obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt. Tacit. Annal. l. 1. c. 1.

[*b*] L. 1. de Leg. n. 5.

[*c*] In Præf. l. 1.

falſe,

falſe, nor believe all he relates without exception, becauſe many things are true.

This love for truth, which ought to be inculated as much as poſſible, may be of great ſervice to preſerve them from a bad taſte, which was formerly very prevalent, I mean, that for romances and fabulous tales, which by degrees extinguiſh the love and taſte of truth, and make the mind incapable of attending to ſuch uſeful and ſerious lectures, as ſpeak more to the reaſon than the imagination.

It is the peculiar felicity of our age, that as ſoon as they were ſupplied either with the tranſlations of the famous writers of antiquity, or ſuch modern works as merited their application, they preſently abandoned all theſe fictions, and even rejected them with ſcorn; as being ſenſible, that nothing in reality could be a greater diſgrace to human reaſon, which was intended to be [*d*] nouriſhed with truth, than to feed upon the chimeras of an irregular imagination, and become the ſport of it, by following it through all its extravagancies. And if at any time ſome works of this nature have been ventured into the public, to the glory of our times it may be ſaid, that they have ſoon fallen into oblivion, neglected by all men of ſenſe, and left to ſuch frivolous people, as could be ſo idly amuſed.

SECT. IV.

To endeavour to find out the CAUSES *of* EVENTS.

[*e*] Polybius, who was as able at the pen as at the ſword, and was no leſs a good writer than an excellent general, takes notice in ſeveral places, that the beſt manner of writing and ſtudying hiſtory, is not to ſtop at the bare recital of facts, the gaining or loſing a battle, the riſe or fall of empires; but to ſearch into the reaſons, and join together all the circumſtances and

[*d*] Natura ineſt mentibus noſtris inſatialibis quædam cupiditas veri videndi. Tuſc. quæſt. lib. 1. n. 44. Nihil eſt hominis menti veritatis luce dulcius. Acad. quæſt. lib. 4. n. 31.

[*e*] Polyb. hiſt. lib. 3.

conſequences of them; to diſtinguiſh, if poſſible, the ſecret deſigns and hidden ſprings in each event; to go back to the original of things, and the moſt diſtant preparations; to diſtinguiſh the real cauſes of a war, from the ſpecious pretences with which it is covered, and eſpecially to note what has decided the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe, the fate of a battle, and the ruin of a ſtate. Without this, [*f*] ſays he, hiſtory gives the reader an agreeable ſpectacle, but conveys no uſeful inſtruction; it ſerves to ſatisfy his curioſity for a moment, but is of no conſequence in the conduct of life.

He obſerves, that the war of the Romans in Aſia, againſt Antiochus, was the conſequence of that they had made before againſt Philip king of Macedon; that what gave occaſion to this, was the good ſucceſs of the ſecond Punic war; of which the principal cauſe, on the ſide of the Carthaginians, was the loſs of Sicily and Sardinia: that therefore to form a juſt idea of the different events of theſe wars, they muſt not be conſidered ſeparately and in parts, but viewed together, and their connections, conſequences and dependencies well examined.

He obſerves in the ſame place, that it would be a groſs miſtake to imagine that the conqueſt of Saguntum by Hannibal was the real cauſe of the ſecond Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians for the too eaſy ceſſion of Sicily by the treaty which concluded the firſt Punic war; the injuſtice and violence of the Romans, who took an opportunity from the commotions in Afric to diſpoſſeſs the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and impoſe a new tribute upon them; and the ſucceſſes and conqueſts of the latter in Spain, were the real cauſes of the rupture of this treaty; as Livy ſuggeſts in a few words, therein following the plan of Polybius, [*g*] at the beginning of his hiſtory of the ſecond Punic war.

[*f*] Ἀγώνισμα μὲν μάθημα δὲ ἐ φάπαν. γίγνεται· ἢ παραυτίκα μὲν τέρπει, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὠφέλειᾶ τὸ πα-

[*g*] Liv. lib. 21. n. 1.

Polybius

Polybius hence takes occaſion to lay down a very uſeful principle for the ſtudy of hiſtory, which is to diſtinguiſh exactly three things, the beginnings, the cauſes, and the pretexts of a war. The beginnings are the firſt ſteps that are openly taken, and are the conſequences of reſolutions made in private; ſuch was the ſiege of Saguntum. The cauſes are the different diſpoſitions of men's minds, particular diſcontents, injuries received, and the hopes of ſucceſs; ſuch, in the fact we are ſpeaking of, were the loſs of Sicily and Sardinia joined to the impoſition of a new tribute, and the favourable opportunity of ſo able and experienced a general as Hannibal. The pretexts are only a veil thrown over the real cauſes.

He illuſtrates this principle ſtill farther by other examples. Can any one imagine, ſays he, that Alexander's irruption into Aſia was the firſt cauſe of the war againſt the Perſians? It was very far from it; and to be convinced of this, we need only conſider the long preparations that preceded this irruption, which was the beginning and declaration of the war, but not the cauſe of it. Two great events had given Philip cauſe to believe that the power of the Perſians, which was once ſo formidable, was tending to a declenſion; the glorious and triumphant return of the ten thouſand Greeks under the conduct of Xenophon, through the midſt of the enemies armies and fortreſſes, whilſt the victorious Artaxerxes did not dare to oppoſe the bold reſolution they had taken of marching in a body through his whole empire into their own country; and the generous undertaking of Ageſilaus king of Lacedæmon, who with an handful of men carried the war and terror into the heart of Aſia Minor, without finding any reſiſtance, and ſtopped only in his conqueſts by the diviſions of Greece. Philip comparing this negligence and ſupineneſs of the Perſians with the activity and courage of his Macedonians, animated with the hope of glory and the advantages he ſhould certainly reap from the war, after having united in his favour with incredible addreſs the opinions and ſuf-

frages of Greece, urged as the pretext of his invaſion, the ancient injuries the Greeks had received from the Perſians, and laboured with indefatigable application in making preparations for the war, which his ſon Alexander, who ſucceeded to his projects as well as his kingdom, happily employed to put them in execution. The weakneſs and negligence of the Perſians therefore were the real cauſe of the war, their former attempts upon the liberty of Greece, the pretext, and Alexander's march into Aſia the beginning of it.

In like manner he traces the apparent pretexts and real cauſes of the war between the Romans and Antiochus.

[*h*] Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus lays down the ſame principles with Polybius. He declares in ſeveral places, that if we would derive the advantage from hiſtory, which may reaſonably be expected, and make it of uſe in the management of public affairs, our curioſity muſt not be confined to facts and events; but we muſt enquire into the reaſons of them, ſtudy the means which make them ſucceed, enter into the views and deſigns of thoſe that conducted them, carefully examine the ſucceſs which God gave them, (remarkable words for an heathen author) and neglect none of the circumſtances which had any important ſhare in the enterpriſes in queſtion.

Can any man of curioſity and underſtanding, [*i*] ſays he in another place, be ſatisfied with knowing that in the war with Perſia the Athenians and Lacedæmonians gained three victories, two by ſea, and a third by land, and with an army of but an hundred and ten thouſand men at moſt, conquered the king of Perſia at the head of above three hundred thouſand? Will he not alſo deſire to know the places where theſe battles were fought, the cauſes which made the victory incline to the ſide of the leſſer number, and produced ſo ſurpriſing an event; the names and characters of

[*h*] Dion. Halicarn. lib. 5. Antiq. Roman.

[*i*] Lib. 11. Antiq. Roman.

the

the principal officers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on both ſides; in a word, all the memorable circumſtances and conſequences of ſo conſiderable an action? For, adds he, it is a great pleaſure to a man of ſenſe and judgment, who reads an hiſtory written in this manner, to be led as it were by the hand from the firſt entrance upon every action to the concluſion of it; and inſtead of being a bare reader, to become in a manner the witneſs and ſpectator of all that is told.

M. Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux, [k] obſerves likewiſe in his diſcourſe upon univerſal hiſtory, that we muſt not only conſider the riſe and fall of empires, but muſt alſo examine thoroughly the cauſes of their progreſs, and the reaſons of their declenſion. "For, "ſays he, the ſame God, who has hung the world to- "gether as it were upon chains, and almighty as he "is, hath thought fit for the eſtabliſhment of order, "that the ſeveral parts of this great whole ſhould de- "pend upon one another; the ſame God has been "pleaſed, ſo to direct the courſe of human affairs, as "to have their dependencies and proportions. I "mean, that men and nations have had qualities "ſuited to the elevation for which they were de- "ſigned; and except in ſome extraordinary caſes, "wherein God thought fit that only his own hand "ſhould appear, there have happened no great al- "terations, which have not had their cauſes in the "preceding ages. And as in all affairs there is ſome- "thing that makes way for them, that determines to "the undertaking of them, and makes them ſucceed, "the true knowledge of hiſtory is to obſerve at all "times the ſecret diſpoſitions which made way for "great changes, and the important conjunctures "which brought them to paſs. In ſhort, it is not "enough to ſee only what is before our eyes, I mean "to take a preſent view of the great events which in "an inſtant determine the fate of empires: whoever "would thoroughly underſtand human affairs, muſt "go farther back, and obſerve the prevailing incli-

[k] Chap. 1.

" nations and manners, or to say all in a word, the " character both of the people in general, and of " princes in particular; and lastly, of all the extra- " ordinary persons, who through the importance of " the station they bore in the world, have contri- " buted well or ill to the revolutions of states and for- " tune of the public."

This last reflection naturally leads us to what I have said we must in the fifth place take notice of in studying history.

SECT. V.

To STUDY *the* CHARACTER *of the* PEOPLE *and* GREAT MEN MENTIONED *in* HISTORY.

For what regards the character of nations, I cannot do better than refer the reader to the remarks M. Bossuet has made upon that subject in the second part of his discourse upon universal history. That work is one of the most admirable performances that has appeared in our age, not only for the beauty and sublimity of style, but still more for the greatness of the topics, the solidity of the reflections, the profound knowledge of mankind, and its large extent, as it takes in all ages and all empires. We see there, with infinite pleasure, all the nations of the world pass in a kind of review before our eyes, with their good and evil dispositions, their manners, customs, and different inclinations; Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Medes, Greeks, and Romans. We there see all the kingdoms of the world rising as it were out of the earth, gradually growing powerful by almost an insensible increase, extending at last their conquests on every side, arriving by different means to the height of human greatness, and falling at once from that height by sudden revolutions, and lost as I may say, and sunk into that nothing from whence they sprung. But what is still more worthy our attention, we find in the manners themselves of the several nations, in their characters, virtues and vices,

vices, the cauſes of their grandeur and deſtruction. We learn there, not only to diſcover the ſecret and hidden ſources of human politics, which give motion to all actions and enterpriſes; but to diſcern withal a ſovereign Being, watching and preſiding over all, directing and conducting every event, and diſpoſing and abſolutely deciding the fate of all the kingdoms and empires of the world. I cannot therefore too much exhort thoſe who are entruſted with the education of youth, to read and ſtudy this excellent book with attention, which is ſo capable of forming at once both the underſtanding and the heart; and, after they have ſtudied it well themſelves, to endeavour to inſpire their pupils with a taſte for it.

What I have ſaid of nations, may alſo be underſtood of the great and illuſtrious men, who have been diſtinguiſhed for the good or ill they have wrought in ſtates. We muſt diligently apply ourſelves to ſtudy their genius, natural inclinations, virtues and faults, particular and perſonal qualifications, in a word, that peculiar turn of mind and courſe of conduct that prevails in them, and forms their character; for that is properly to know them. Otherwiſe we ſee only the ſurface and outſide of them; and men are not to be known and judged only by their dreſs and countenances.

Neither muſt we expect to know them principally from ſuch of their actions, as make the moſt glorious figure. When they ſet themſelves up to public view, they may diſſemble and lie under a reſtraint, by aſſuming for a time the viſage and maſk, which ſuits beſt with the character they are to ſupport. They ſhew themſelves what they are, in private, in the cloſet, and at home, when they are unreſerved, and without diſguiſe. It is there they act and talk, as nature dictates. It is in this manner we ſhould chiefly ſtudy great men, if we would paſs a right judgment upon them; and it is the ineſtimable advantage we find in Plutarch, and that wherein he may be ſaid to excel all other hiſtorians. In the lives he has left us of the illuſtrious

illuſtrious men among the Greeks and Romans, he deſcends to particulars, which give us infinite pleaſure. He is not ſatisfied with ſhewing us the general, the conqueror, the ſtateſman, the magiſtrate, or the orator; he lays open the inſide of the houſe to his readers, or rather the heart of the perſons he ſpeaks of, and lets us ſee in them the father, the huſband, the maſter, and the friend. We ſeem to live and diſcourſe with them, to ſhare in their amuſements and diverſions, to aſſiſt at their meals and in their converſations. [*l*] Tully ſays ſomewhere, that he could not take one ſtep in Athens, and the neighbouring places, without meeting with ſome ancient monument of hiſtory, which awakened the remembrance of the great men, who formerly lived there, and in ſome meaſure ſet them before his eyes. Here was a garden, where the footſteps of Plato ſeemed ſtill to remain, here he uſed to walk and diſcourſe of the graveſt points of philoſophy; there was the place of the public aſſemblies, where Æſchines and Demoſthenes ſeem ſtill to plead againſt each other; and one would imagine the voice of the Greek orator was ſtill to be heard on the ſhore, where he learned to overcome the tumultuous noiſe of public meetings by ſurmounting that of the waves. The reading the lives of Plutarch ſeems in my opinion to produce a like effect, by rendering the great men he ſpeaks of in a manner preſent, and giving us as lively an idea of their cuſtoms and manners, as if we had lived and converſed with them. We know more of the genius, ſpirit, and character of Alexander from Plutarch's very ſhort abridgment of it, than from the very long and particular hiſtories of Quintus Curtius and Arrian.

[*l*] Quacunque ingredimur, in aliquam hiſtoriam veſtigium ponimus. Uſu autem evenit, ut acriùs aliquanto & attentiùs de claris viris, locorum admonitu, cogitemus . . . velut ego nunc moveor. Venit enim mihi Platonis in mentem, quem accepimus primùm hîc (in academia) diſputare ſolitum: cujus etiam illi hortuli propinqui non memoriam ſolùm mihi afferunt, ſed ipſum videntur in conſpectu meo hîc ponere, &c. Lib. 5. de finib. n. 4, &c.

This

This exact knowledge of the characters of great men makes an essential part of history; and it is for this reason that good historians are usually careful to give an express and general idea of the good or ill qualities of the principal persons they speak of. Of this kind are the characters of Catiline, Marius, and Sylla, in Sallust; of Furius Camillus, Hannibal, and a great many others, in Livy.

It is by studying attentively the prevailing dispositions both of nations in general, and their commanders in particular, that we are able to form a judgment of their designs, actions, and enterprises, and may even foretel the consequence. Philopemen, an officer of excellent understanding, observing on the one hand the carelessness and negligence of Antiochus, who was amusing himself at feasts and weddings; and on the other, the diligence and indefatigable activity of the Romans, made no difficulty in foretelling on which side the victory would fall. Polybius is very careful, by the wise reflections he makes in several parts of his history, to excite the attention of the reader to take notice of the personal qualifications of the great men he writes of, and to observe that the Roman conquests were the effects of schemes concerted at a distance, and conducted by such means, as with the abilities of their generals could scarce possibly fail of success. It was from this profound study of the genius and character of mankind, from a thorough enquiry into the nature and constitution of the different kinds of government, and the natural causes which in course of time change the form of them; and lastly, by serious reflections upon the present state of affairs and disposition of men's minds, that the same historian, in the sixth book of his history, has carried the sagacity of his conjectures and foresight so far as to declare, that sooner or later the republic of Rome would again be changed into a monarchical government. When I come to speak of the Roman history, I shall give an extract and summary of this passage of Polybius,

Polybius, which is one of the moſt curious and remarkable of all antiquity.

SECT. VI.

To OBSERVE *in* HISTORY *what* RELATES *to* MORALITY *and the* CONDUCT *of* LIFE.

The obſervations I have already mentioned are not the only ones to be made, nor the moſt eſſential; ſuch as relate to the regulation of manners are ſtill more important. "The greateſt advantage," ſays Livy in his excellent preface, "ariſing from the knowledge "of hiſtory is, that you may ſee there examples of "every kind ſet in the cleareſt light. You have pat-"terns for your imitation both in your own private "conduct, and in the adminiſtration of public af-"fairs; you find there alſo ſuch actions as flow "from corrupt principles, fatal in their event, and "for that reaſon to be avoided." *Hoc illud eſt præcipuè in cognitione rerum ſalubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illuſtri poſita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuæque republicæ, quod imitare, capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.*

The caſe is near the ſame with the ſtudy of hiſtory as with travelling. [*m*] If it is confined barely to the paſſing over countries, the viſiting of cities, the examining the beauty and magnificence of the buildings and public monuments, where is the mighty advantage attending it? Does it make a man wiſer, more regular, or temperate? Does it remove his prejudices, or correct his errors? The novelty and variety of theſe objects may amuſe him for a time, like a child, and he may gaze upon them with a ſtupid admiration. But if this is all, it is not to travel, but wander, and to loſe both his time and trouble. *Non eſt hoc peregrinari, ſed errare.* It is ſaid of Ulyſſes, that he viſited abundance of cities, but not till after it had been ob-

[*m*] Senec. Epiſt. 410.

ſerved,

ſerved, that he applied himſelf to ſtudy the manners and genius of the people.

[n] *Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.*

The ancients made long and frequent voyages, but it was with a view to inſtruct; to viſit mankind, to improve from their wiſdom and knowledge.

Such is the uſe we ought to make of hiſtory. We ſtand in need of inſtructions and examples to induce us to the practice of virtue amidſt the dangers and obſtacles which ſurround it; and hiſtory ſupplies us with theſe of every kind. 'Tis thence the ſentiments of honour and probity are derived; [o] *Hinc mihi ille juſtitiæ hauſtus bibat.* We muſt carefully ſtudy the actions and ſpeeches of the great men of antiquity, and make it our buſineſs ſeriouſly to digeſt them.

[p] When Tully endeavours to incline his brother Quintus to kindneſs and moderation, he puts him in mind of what he had read in Xenophon concerning Cyrus and Ageſilaus. [q] He tells us it was the uſe he himſelf made of what he had read in his youth, and hiſtory had taught him to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities, and deſpiſe all dangers for the ſervice of his country. "How many models of virtue, ſays he, are "left us by the Greek and Latin writers, which are "not laid before us only to be looked on, but to be "imitated? And by ſtudying them inceſſantly, and "endeavouring to copy after them in the manage-"ment of public affairs, have I formed my mind and "heart, upon the idea of thoſe great men, whoſe pic-"tures are ſo admirably drawn in their writings." *Quam multas nobis imagines, non ſolùm ad intuendum, verùm etiam ad imitandum, fortiſſimorum virorum expreſſas, ſcriptores & Græci & Latini reliquerunt? quas ego mihi ſemper in adminiſtrandâ republicâ proponens, animum & mentem meam ipſâ cogitatione hominum excellentium confirmabam!*

[n] Horat. de Arte Poet.
[o] Quintil. l. 12. c. 2.
[p] Epiſt. 2. ad Quint.
[q] Pro Arch. Poet. n. 14.

We

We muſt therefore in teaching youth hiſtory, be very careful to make them derive from it one of its principal advantages, which is the regulation of their manners; and to this end we muſt from time to time introduce ſhort reflections; aſk them their own judgment upon the actions they read; accuſtom them eſpecially not to ſuffer themſelves to be dazzled by a vain outward ſhew, but to judge univerſally according to the principles of equity, truth and juſtice; and raiſe in them an admiration for the modeſty, frugality, generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and love for the public good, which prevailed in the happy times of the Greek and Roman republics. When youth are thus timely modelled, and accuſtomed from their infancy to the ſtudy of hiſtory to admire examples of virtue, and abhor vice, we may hope that theſe early ſeeds, aſſiſted by a ſuperior aid, without which they would ſoon miſcarry, may in due time bring forth good fruit; and that ſomething might happen to them like what is told of a ſcholar of Plato's, whom the philoſopher had trained up with great care in his own houſe. When he returned home, and ſaw his father break out into a violent tranſport of paſſion, he ſtood in amaze, "I "never ſaw any thing like this, ſays he, at Plato's." *Apud Platonem educatus puer, cum ad parentes relatus vociferantem videret patrem: Nunquam, inquit, hoc apud Platonem vidi.*

SECT. VII.

Carefully to obſerve every THING *that relates to* RELIGION.

I have one obſervation more to make upon the ſtudy of hiſtory, which conſiſts in carefully obſerving whatever relates to religion, and the great truths which are neceſſarily dependent upon it. For amidſt the confuſed chaos of ridiculous opinions, abſurd ceremonies, impious ſacrifices, and deteſtable principles, which idolatry, the daughter and mother of ignorance and corruption of heart, has brought forth, to the reproach

of

of human reaſon and underſtanding, there are ſtill to be diſcerned ſome precious remains of almoſt all the fundamental truths of our holy religion. We find in it particularly the exiſtence of a Being ſupreme in power, and ſupremely juſt, the abſolute Lord of kings and kingdoms, whoſe providence rules all the events of this life, whoſe juſtice prepares for the next the rewards and chaſtiſements that are due to the righteous and the wicked; and laſtly, whoſe all-piercing eye ſees into the inmoſt receſſes of our ſouls, and fills them with trouble and confuſion, whether we will or no. But as I have already treated of this ſubject more at large in the preliminary diſcourſe prefixed to the firſt volume, I ſhall dwell no longer upon it here.

Theſe, in my opinion, are the principal obſervations youth ſhould be directed to make, whilſt they are ſtudying hiſtory, taking care at the ſame time to proportion them to their age and capacity, and never propoſing any reflections to them they are not capable of comprehending. I ſhall now proceed to apply theſe general principles to particular examples in the cleareſt and moſt intelligible manner in my power.

CHAP. II.

The APPLICATION *of the foregoing* RULES *to ſome particular* FACTS *in* HISTORY.

IN making the application of the principles I have here laid down, I ſhall ſelect, firſt from the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks, and then from that of the Romans, certain portions and particular facts, to which I ſhall add ſome reflections.

ARTICLE THE FIRST.

Of the HISTORY *of the* PERSIANS *and* GREEKS.

THE firſt piece taken from the hiſtory of the Perſians.

CYRUS.

CYRUS.

I ſhall divide what I have to ſay concerning Cyrus into three parts; his education; his firſt expeditions; the taking of Babylon, and his conqueſts. I ſhall relate only the moſt important circumſtances of theſe events, and ſuch as appear to me moſt proper for the inſtruction of youth. Theſe I ſhall extract from Xenophon, whom I take here for my guide, as the author moſt worthy of credit upon this article.

I. *The* EDUCATION *of* CYRUS. Cyrop. lib. I.

Cyrus was the ſon of Cambyſes king of Perſia, and Mandane the daughter of Aſtyages king of the Medes. [r] He was beautiful in his perſon, but far more eſtimable for the excellent endowments of his mind. He was exceeding courteous and humane, deſirous of learning, and ardent for glory. He never feared any danger, nor ſhunned any labour where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up after the cuſtom of the Perſians, which at that time was admirable.

The public good, and general utility was the principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was conſidered as the moſt important duty and eſſential part of the government. The care of it was not entruſted to fathers and mothers, whom a blind and tender indulgence often rendered incapable of it; the ſtate charged itſelf withit. They were brought up together, and in the ſame manner. They did nothing but by rule; the place and duration of their exerciſes were fixed, the time of their meals, the quality of what they were to eat and drink, the number of their maſters, and the different kinds of correction. Their whole food, as well for children as young men, was bread, and creſſes, and water; for their view was to habituate them early to temperance and ſobriety; and beſides, this ſort of ſimple and frugal food, without

[r] Εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος, φιλομαθέστατος, καὶ φιλοτιμότατος.

any

any mixture of ſauces and ragoos, ſtrengthened their bodies, and laid a foundation of health capable of ſupporting the ſevereſt fatigues of war till they grow old, [s] as is obſerved of Cyrus, who found himſelf as ſtrong and robuſt in his old age, as he was in his youth. They learnt juſtice in ſchools, as in other places they do literature; and ingratitude was the crime they puniſhed moſt ſeverely.

The view of the Perſians in all theſe wiſe inſtitutions was to be beforehand with evil, as they were perſuaded that it was better to prevent faults than puniſh them; and whereas in other nations they were contented with inflicting puniſhments upon criminals, the Perſians endeavoured in a manner to hinder there being any criminals amongſt them.

They continued in the claſs of children till they were ſixteen or ſeventeen years old; they then entered the claſs of youths. They were then laid under the greateſt reſtraints, as that age ſtood moſt in need of them. They ſpent ten years in this claſs. During this interval, they were every night upon guard, as well for the ſecurity of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they went to receive orders from their governors, attended the king when he went a hunting, or applied themſelves to their exerciſes.

The third claſs was formed of men grown, and there they continued five and twenty years. From hence were taken all the officers, that were to command in the troops, and fill the different poſts, employments, and dignities of the ſtate. And hence they paſſed into the laſt claſs, from whence the wiſeſt and moſt experienced were choſen to form the public council.

By theſe means every citizen might aſpire to the firſt offices of the ſtate; but none could arive at them, till they had paſſed through theſe different claſſes, and became capable of them by all theſe exerciſes.

[s] Cyrus non fuit imbecillior in ſenectute, quam in juventute. Cic. de ſenect. n. 30.

Cyrus was brought up in this manner till he was twelve years old, and always excelled his equals, both in facility of learning, in courage, and dexterity in executing whatever he undertook. His mother Mandane then carried him into Media to viſit his grandfather Aſtyages, who had heard ſo much of the fame of this young prince, that he was very deſirous of ſeeing him. He found the manners of the Median court very different from thoſe of his own country. Pomp, luxury, and magnificence univerſally prevailed. He was not at all dazzled with it, and without criticiſing, or condemning it, he ſtood firm to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his wit and vivacity, and gained all hearts by his noble and engaging carriage, of which I ſhall relate a ſingle inſtance, from which we may form a judgment of the reſt.

Aſtyages, to make his grandſon think no more of returning into his own country, prepared a ſumptuous entertainment, in which he ſpared for no expence, either as to the quantity, or the quality, and delicacy of meats. Cyrus looked upon all theſe preparations with a great deal of indifference. And as Aſtyages ſeemed very much ſurpriſed at it; The Perſians, ſays he, inſtead of ſo many turnings and windings to ſatisfy their hunger, take a much ſhorter way to the ſame end; a little bread and creſſes will do it at any time. His grandfather giving him leave to diſpoſe of the diſhes that were ſerved up as he thought fit, he diſtributed them immediately among ſuch of the king's officers as were preſent; to one he gave, becauſe he taught him to ride; to another, becauſe he ſerved Aſtyages well; to a third, becauſe he was very careful of his mother. Sacas, Aſtyages's cup-bearer, was the only perſon to whom he gave nothing. This officer, beſides his place of cup-bearer, had the poſt of introducing ſuch as were to have audience of the king; and as it was not poſſible for him to grant this favour to Cyrus as often as he required it, he had the misfortune to diſpleaſe the young prince, who expreſſed his reſentment upon this occaſion.

occaſion. Aſtyages ſeemed uneaſy that he had offered this affront to an officer, for whom he had a particular eſteem, and who deſerved it for his wonderful addreſs in diſcharging his office; "And is that enough, papa, "anſwers Cyrus, to merit your favour? then I ſhould "ſoon have obtained it; for I'll anſwer for it, I can "ſerve you better than he." The little Cyrus was immediately equipped in the habit of a cup-bearer. He advances gravely with a ſerious air, and a napkin thrown over his ſhoulder, and holding the cup nicely on three of his fingers, he preſented it to the king with a dexterity and grace, that charmed Aſtyages and Mandane. When this was done, he threw his arms around his grandfather's neck, and kiſſing him cried out with great joy, "O Sacas, poor Sacas, thou art "undone, I ſhall have thy place." Aſtyages was mightily pleaſed with him; "And well, ſays he, my "boy, thou ſhalt have it; no body can ſerve me better. "But you have forgot one part of the ceremony, "which is to taſte of it before you give it." It was it ſeems the cuſtom for the cup-bearer to pour out a little of the liquor into his left hand, and taſte it, before he preſented the cup to the king. "Twas not "through forgetfulneſs, anſwered Cyrus, that I did "not ſo." "What then, ſays Aſtyages!" "'Twas "becauſe I apprehended the liquor to be poiſon." "Poiſon! how ſo?" "Yes indeed, papa; for it is "not long ſince I took notice, at an entertainment "you gave the lords of your court, that after they "had drank a little of that liquor, all their heads "were turned. They bawled and ſung, and talked "like madmen. You yourſelf ſeemed to have for-"got that you were king, and they, that they were "your ſubjects. At laſt, when you got up to dance, "you could not ſtand without ſtaggering." "How, "replies Aſtyages, does not the ſame thing happen "to your father?" "Never, anſwered Cyrus." "How then?" "Why, when he has drank, he is "no longer thirſty, and that's all."

His mother Mandane being upon the point of returning into Perſia, he chearfully complied with the repeated inſtances of his grandfather to continue in Media, becauſe he ſaid, as he did not ride well enough yet, he might have time to perfect himſelf in that exerciſe, which was not practiſed in Perſia, the drineſs of the ſoil, and mountainous ſituation of the country not admitting the breeding of horſes.

During this interval that he paſſed at court, he gained the eſteem and love of all mankind. He was mild, affable, obliging, good-natured, and liberal. If the young lords had any favour to beg of the king, he ſolicited it for them. If there was any cauſe of complaint againſt them, he was their mediator with the king. He made their buſineſs his own, and managed ſo well, that he always obtained what he deſired.

Cambyſes recalling Cyrus to complete the time allotted for the finiſhing of his exerciſes in Perſia, he immediately ſet forward on his journey, that his delay might neither give his father, nor his country, any cauſe to complain of him. It then appeared how tenderly he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all the world; thoſe of his own age, young men and old, all attended him. Aſtyages went with him on horſeback a conſiderable way, and when he was obliged to take his leave, the whole company broke out into tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into Perſia, where he continued one year more in the claſs of children. His companions expected to find a great alteration in his manners, after having ſpent ſo much time in ſo voluptuous and ſplendid a court as that of Media. But when they ſaw he was contented with their ordinary table, and upon days of feaſting was more ſober and reſerved than any of them, they looked upon him with new admiration.

He paſſed from this firſt claſs into the ſecond, which is that of the young men; where he ſhewed that he had not his equal in addreſs, patience and obedience.

RE-

REFLECTIONS.

I ſhall not attempt to make any reflections upon the preceding ſtory; they offer themſelves in abundance to the reader, and cannot eſcape the view of the moſt dim-ſighted. We ſee here how much a maſculine, robuſt, and vigorous education contributes at the ſame time to ſtrengthen the body, and enlarge the mind; and that the beſt means for young gentlemen of quality to acquire eſteem and affection, is not by aſſuming airs of grandeur, but by a civil and obliging deportment. I cannot but take notice how artfully the hiſtorian has introduced the excellent lecture he has given againſt drunkenneſs. He might have done it in a grave and ſerious manner, and with the air of a philoſopher; for Xenophon, as much a ſoldier as he was, was no leſs a philoſopher than Socrates his maſter. Inſtead of this, he puts it into the mouth of a child, and diſguiſes it under the veil of a little ſtory, told in the original with all the ſpirit and prettineſs imaginable. I do not doubt, but it is wholly his own invention; and it is in this ſenſe, in my opinion, we ſhould underſtand what [*t*] Tully ſays of this admirable work; That the author has not pretended to follow the ſtrict rules of truth and hiſtory, but deſigned to give princes in the perſon of Cyrus a perfect model of the manner in which they ought to govern their ſubjects. *Cyrus ille à Xenophonte non ad fidem hiſtoriæ ſcriptus, ſed ad effigiem juſti imperii.* That is, he has added to the ſubſtance of the hiſtory, which is very true in itſelf, as I ſhall ſoon have occaſion to obſerve, ſome particular circumſtances, to exalt its beauty, and ſerve for the inſtruction of mankind. Such is, in my opinion, the hiſtory of the little Cyrus turned cup-bearer, which ſhews how diſhonourable drunkenneſs is to princes, far better than all the precepts of philoſophers.

[*t*] Ad Qu. Fratr. lib. 1. Ep. 1.

II. *The first* EXPEDITIONS *and* CONQUESTS *of* CYRUS. Cyrop. lib. 1, &c.

Aſtyages king of the Medes being dead, his ſon Cyaxares, brother to Mandane the mother of Cyrus, ſucceeded him. He was ſcarce ſettled upon the throne, before he found himſelf engaged in a terrible war. He received advice that the king of the Aſſyrians was raiſing a powerful army againſt him; that he had already drawn over ſeveral other princes to eſpouſe his quarrel, and among the reſt Crœſus king of Lydia. He immediately diſpatched an embaſſy to Cambyſes to demand his aſſiſtance, with orders to deſire that Cyrus might have the command of the army that ſhould be ſent to his aid. They obtained their requeſt without much difficulty. The young prince was then in the claſs of men grown, after having paſſed ten years in the ſecond. The joy was univerſal, when it was known that Cyrus was marching at the head of the army. It conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, for the Perſians had then no horſe; beſides a thouſand young officers, the choice of the nation, who marched as volunteers, from a particular attachment they had to the perſon of Cyrus.

He ſet forward, without loſing any time, but not till after he had invoked the aſſiſtance of the gods. For his great principle, which he learnt from his father, was never to enter upon any action, whether great or ſmall, without firſt conſulting the gods. Cambyſes had often repreſented to him, that human prudence was very ſhort-ſighted, and the views of men confined within narrow bounds; that they could not penetrate into futurity, and what they often thought was moſt for their advantage, became the cauſe of their deſtruction; whereas the gods being eternal, know all things, the future as well as the paſt, and [*u*] inſpire thoſe they love with what is moſt proper

[*u*] They imputed every branch of their ſucceſs to Divine Providence, even what they caught in hunting. Venatio nobis hæc, amici, ſays Cyrus, volente Deo proſpera futura eſt. Cyrop. lib. 2.

for

for them to undertake; a protection they owe to none, and grant only to such as call upon them and consult them.

Cambyses was pleased to accompany his son as far as the frontiers of Persia. By the way he gave him excellent instructions upon the duties of the general of an army. I have already observed, in another place, that Cyrus, who thought he was a perfect master in the trade of war, after having studied it so long under the most experienced officers of his time, owned then that he was absolutely ignorant of the most essential part of the art military, till he had learnt it from this familiar discourse, which deserves to be carefully read, and seriously considered by all persons designed for the profession of arms. I shall mention but one instance, from whence we may judge of the rest.

The point was, how to make the soldiers submissive and obedient. The easiest and surest method, in my opinion, says Cyrus, is to commend and reward the obedient, and to punish and disgrace the disobedient. That's right, answered Cambyses, if you would bring them to it by force; but the business is, how to make them submit voluntarily. Now the surest way of succeeding herein, is to convince those over whom we command, that we know better what is fit for them than they do themselves; for all mankind will readily obey those, of whom they have this opinion. From this principle arises the blind submission, which the sick pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and sea-faring men to their pilot. Their obedience is wholly founded upon a persuasion, that the physician, the guide, and the pilot know more of the matter than themselves. But what must we do, says Cyrus again to his father, to appear more able and prudent than others? By being really so, replies Cambyses; and to this end applying diligently to our profession, seriously studying all the rules of it, consulting the ablest masters with docility and care, neglecting nothing which may make our enterprises succeed;

and above all imploring the assistance of the gods, who alone give prudence and success.

When Cyrus was arrived in Media and with Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the troops on both sides. He found, by the list that was given in, that the enemy's army amounted to sixty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, and consequently that their horse were two-thirds more than those of the Medes and Persians together, and that the latter had scarce half their foot. So great an inequality threw Cyaxares into great terror and confusion. He could not think of any other expedient than the drawing fresh troops out of Persia, and in greater number than before. But besides that this remedy would have been very slow, it seemed impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed a surer and shorter method, and this was to change the arms of the Persians; and as most of them used only the bow and the javelin, and consequently fought only at a distance, in which way of fighting the greater number easily carried it over the smaller, he thought it adviseable to arm them in such a manner, that they might come immediately to close fight with the enemy, and thereby render the multitude of their troops unserviceable. This advice was approved and put in execution immediately.

One day as Cyrus was making a review of his army, a courier came to him from Cyaxares with advice, that embassadors were just arrived from the king of the Indies, and therefore he desired he would come presently to him: and for this reason, says he, I have brought you a rich vestment; for the king desires you would be magnificently dressed in presence of the Indians, for the honour of the nation. Cyrus lost no time, but set forward immediately with his troops to attend upon the king, [x] without putting on any other habit than his own; and as Cyaxares at first

[x] Ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ στολῇ ἐδέν τι ξεξυσμένη. A beautiful expression!

Persica veste indutus, ornatu alieno minime contaminata.

seemed

ſeemed ſomewhat diſpleaſed at it, Should I have done you more honour, replies Cyrus, by clothing myſelf in purple, and putting on a load of bracelets and gold chains, if with all this I had tarried longer before I came, than I now do you by the ſweat of my brows and my diligence, in letting all the world ſee with what readineſs your orders are executed.

Cyrus's great care was to engage the affection of the troops, to gain the inclination of the officers, and acquire the love and eſteem of the ſoldiers. To this end he treated them all with gentleneſs and good-nature, made himſelf popular and affable, invited them often to dine with him, and eſpecially thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed amongſt the troops. He valued money only for the ſake of diſtributing it. He gave preſents liberally to every one according to his merit and condition; to one a buckler, to another a ſword, or ſomething of a like nature. He thought a general was to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his greatneſs of ſoul, his generoſity, and inclination to do good; and not by luxury in eating, or magnificence in dreſs and equipage, and ſtill leſs by haughtineſs and pride.

Obſerving all his troops full of ardour and courage, he propoſed to Cyaxares to lead them againſt the enemy. They therefore began their march, after they had offered ſacrifices to the gods. When the armies were in ſight of each other, they prepared for the battle. The Aſſyrians were encamped in the open plain; Cyrus on the other hand was covered by ſome villages, and ſmall eminences. They ſpent ſome days in looking upon one another. At laſt the Aſſyrians came firſt out of their camp in very great numbers, and Cyrus advanced with his troops. Before they came within a bow-ſhot, he gave the word of command, which was, *Jupiter the helper and conductor.* He cauſed the uſual hymn to be ſung in honour of Caſtor and Pollux, and the ſoldiers full of religious ardour (θεοσεβῶς) made the reſponſes with a loud voice. [y] In the whole army of

[y] Ἦν δὲ μεγὸν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ πειθεῦς . . . . ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γὰρ δὴ οἱ Κύρῳ προθυμίας, φιλοτιμίας, ἐώμης δεισιδαίμονες ἦπλον τοῦς ἀνθρώπους φοβάρσυς, παρακελευσμοῦ, ζωφροσύνες, ἐοῦνται.

Cyrus

Cyrus nothing was to be diſcerned but chearfulneſs, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations, prudence, and obedience, which caſt a ſtrange terror into the hearts of the enemies. For, ſays the hiſtorian here, it was obſerved that thoſe who moſt feared the gods upon theſe occaſions were the leaſt afraid of men. The Aſſyrian archers, ſlingers, and darters of javelins, made their diſcharges before the enemy was within reach. But the Perſians, encouraged by the preſence and example of Cyrus came at once to a cloſe engagement, and broke the firſt battalions. The Aſſyrians could not ſuſtain ſo rude a ſhock, and took all to their heels. The Median horſe moved forward at the ſame time to fall upon that of the enemy, who were alſo ſoon routed. They were briſkly purſued, as far as their camp. The ſlaughter was terrible, and the Aſſyrian king loſt his life in the field. Cyrus did not think himſelf in a condition to force them in their entrenchments, and ſounded a retreat.

The Aſſyrians in the mean while, their king ſlain, and the braveſt men in the army loſt, were in a ſtrange conſternation. Crœſus and the other allies loſt alſo all hope. So that they had no thoughts but of eſcaping by favour of the night.

Cyrus had rightly foreſeen it, and prepared for a vigorous purſuit. But this was not to be done without horſe, and the Perſians, as we have already obſerved, had none. He went therefore to Cyaxares, and told him of his deſign. Cyaxares very much diſapproved it, and repreſented to him the danger there was in driving ſo powerful an enemy to extremes, who might perhaps be inſpired with courage by being driven to deſpair; that it was prudent to uſe good fortune with moderation, and not to loſe the fruit of a victory by too much eagerneſs; that beſides, he was unwilling to compel the Medes, or prevent them from taking the repoſe they had ſo juſtly deſerved. Cyrus at laſt deſired leave only to carry ſuch with him, as were willing to follow him, and got the conſent of Cyaxares with great difficulty, who had no thought but

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of paſſing his time in feaſting and rejoicing with his officers, for the victory he had ſo lately gained.

Almoſt all the Medes followed Cyrus, who began his march in purſuit of the enemy. He met in his way couriers from the Hyrcanians, who ſerved in the enemy's army, to tell him, that as ſoon as he appeared, they were ready to ſubmit to him, and in reality they did ſo. He loſt no time, but marching all night came up with the Aſſyrians. Crœſus had ſent his wives before in the cool of the evening, for it was then ſummer, and was following after them with ſome horſe. The Aſſyrians were in the utmoſt conſternation, when they ſaw the enemy at their heels. Many of them were killed in the flight; all that were left in the camp ſurrendered; the victory was complete, and the booty immenſe. Cyrus kept to himſelf all the horſes that were found in the camp, deſigning from that time to form a body of Perſian horſe, which till then they had not. Every thing of the greateſt value he ſet apart for Cyaxares. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from purſuing the enemy, he made them partake of a repaſt he had prepared for them, bidding them ſend only ſome bread to the Perſians, who had every thing elſe that was neceſſary for them both as to delicacy and drink. Their ſauce was hunger, and their drink the water from the river. This was the manner of living, to which they had been accuſtomed from their infancy.

Cyaxares had paſſed the night, that Cyrus ſpent in purſuit of the enemy, in joy and feaſting, and had got drunk with his principal officers. When he awaked the next morning, he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf left almoſt alone. Full of rage and indignation, he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus, and make the Medes return directly. Cyrus was under no concern at ſo unjuſt a command. He wrote back a reſpectful letter, but with a generous freedom, in which he juſtified his conduct, and reminded him of the leave he had granted to all the Medes that were willing to follow

follow him. He ſent at the ſame time into Perſia for freſh troops, deſigning to extend his conqueſts ſtill farther.

Among the priſoners of war was a young princeſs of exquiſite beauty, reſerved for Cyrus. She was named Panthea, and was wife to Abradates king of Suſiana. Upon the report of her beauty Cyrus refuſed to ſee her, apprehending, as he ſaid, leſt ſuch an object ſhould engage his affection too much, and divert him from the great deſigns he had formed. Araſpes, a young Median lord, in whoſe cuſtody ſhe had been, did not ſuſpect his own weakneſs ſo much, and affirmed that a man was always maſter of himſelf. Cyrus gave him prudent advice, and put the princeſs again into his hands. Fear not, replies Araſpes, I am ſecure of myſelf, and will lay my life on't that I do nothing contrary to my duty. However, his paſſion for the princeſs increaſed by little and little to ſuch a degree, that finding her invincibly averſe to his deſires, he was upon the point of offering her violence. The princeſs made her complaints to Cyrus, who preſently ſent Artabazus to expoſtulate in his name with Araſpes. This officer chid him with the utmoſt ſeverity, and ſet his fault before him in ſuch a light, as almoſt threw him into deſpair. Araſpes, overwhelmed with grief, could not refrain from tears, and was ſtruck dumb with ſhame and terror. Some days after Cyrus ſent for him; and he came all trembling and diſordered. Cyrus took him aſide, and inſtead of the violent reproaches he expected, ſpoke to him with the utmoſt mildneſs, owning that he had been to blame for imprudently ſhutting him up with ſo formidable an enemy. Such unexpected goodneſs gave life to the young lord. His confuſion, joy, and gratitude, drew tears from his eyes in abundance. It is now, ſays he, that I begin to know myſelf, and ſenſibly to prove that I have two ſouls, one that inclines me to do well, and the other that urges me to miſchief. The firſt is always ſuperior, when you are by to aſſiſt me, and are talking with me; and I yield

to

to the other, and am overcome, when I am alone by myſelf. He made ample amends afterwards for his fault, and did Cyrus a conſiderable ſervice, by retreating as a ſpy to the Aſſyrians, under the pretext of a pretended diſcontent.

Cyrus in the mean time prepared to advance into the enemy's country. None of the Medes would quit him, nor return without him to Cyaxares, whoſe rage and cruelty they apprehended. The army began their march. The good treatment Cyrus had given the priſoners of war, by ſending them all back free into their own country, had ſpread a general rumour of his clemency. Many of the people ſubmitted to him, and increaſed the number of his troops. When he drew nigh to Babylon, he ſent a challenge to the king of Aſſyria, offering to decide the quarrel by a ſingle combat. But this challenge was not accepted. However, for the ſecurity of his allies during his abſence, he entered into a kind of truce and treaty with him, by which it was agreed on both ſides, that the huſbandmen ſhould not be diſturbed, but have full liberty to till the ground. And thus, after he had taken a view of the country, examined the ſituation of Babylon, enlarged the number of his friends and allies, he returned towards Media.

When he drew near the frontiers, he ſent deputies to Cyaxares, to give him notice of his arrival, and to receive his orders. Cyaxares did not think it adviſeable to admit ſo conſiderable an army into his country, which was beſides to be augmented by the addition of forty thouſand men, lately arrived from Perſia. The next day he ſet forward on his journey with the horſe that remained with him. Cyrus advanced to meet him with his, who were very numerous and in good order. The ſight of them awakened the jealouſy and diſcontent of Cyaxares. He gave his nephew a very cold reception, turned aſide his face, and declined his kiſs, and even let fall ſome tears. Cyrus commanded all that ſtood by him to withdraw, and reaſoned with him upon the occaſion. He ſpoke with ſo much mildneſs,

ſubmiſſion, and force, gave him ſuch ſtrong proofs of his integrity, reſpect, and inviolable attachment to his perſon and intereſts, that he removed in a moment all his ſuſpicions, and was perfectly reſtored to his good graces. They mutually embraced each other, and ſhed tears on both ſides. The joy of the Medes and Perſians was inexpreſſible, who waited for the iſſue of this interview with fear and trembling. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately mounted their horſes, and then all the Medes poſted themſelves behind Cyaxares, purſuant to the ſignal Cyrus had given them. The Perſians followed Cyrus, and the other nations their reſpective princes. When they were arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent which had been prepared for him. He was immediately viſited by moſt of the Medes, who came to pay their reſpects to him, and make him preſents, ſome of their own accord, and others by the direction of Cyrus. Cyaxares was extremely affected with it, and began to be convinced that Cyrus had not debauched his ſubjects from him, but that the Medes bore him the ſame affectionate regard they had done before.

REFLECTIONS.

This whole ſtory is full of inſtruction. We ſee in Cyrus all the qualifications requiſite to form a great man, and in his troops whatever renders an army invincible. This young prince, far ſuperior in his ſentiments to thoſe of his rank and age, placed not his glory in magnificent repaſts, clothes, and equipages. He was unacquainted with the airs of haughtineſs and pride, by which young men of quality often imagine they diſtinguiſh themſelves. He valued riches only for the pleaſure of diſtributing them, and the opportunity they gave him of adding to the number of his friends. He [z] was ſurpriſingly a maſter in the art of gaining the affections of others, and ſtill more by

[z] Artificium benevolentiæ colligendæ, ſays Tully, ſpeaking of Cyrus. Ep. 1. ad Quint. fratrem.

his

his obliging deportment and engaging behaviour than his liberality. As he was perfectly acquainted with the ſcience of war, he abounded in ſtratagems and expedients; witneſs the change of arms and eſtabliſhment of cavalry which he introduced among the Perſians. He was ſober, vigilant, inured to labour, inſenſible of the allurements of pleaſure; and the contraſt between him and Cyaxares very much exalts the value of his excellent qualities.

At an age, when the paſſions are uſually moſt violent, and in the very heat of victory, when every thing ſeems allowable, in the midſt of the applauſes and praiſes he received on all ſides, he always remained abſolute maſter of himſelf, and gave a young lord, who was very unlike him, ſuch lectures of continence and virtue, as are ſurpriſing even to us that are Chriſtians, and are ſo very remote from our manners, that they ſeem almoſt incredible.

But what muſt aſtoniſh us ſtill more, is the infinite veneration he paid to the gods, his exactneſs in forming no enterpriſe without conſulting them, and imploring their aſſiſtance; his religious acknowledgment of their favours, by aſcribing all his good ſucceſs to them; and the open profeſſion of piety and religion he was not aſhamed to make at all times and upon all occaſions, if I may be allowed to uſe theſe terms in the caſe of a prince, who was ignorant of the true God.

This is what youth muſt ſtudy in Cyrus; and it may not be amiſs to obſerve to them, that one of the greateſt commanders in the Roman republic was formed upon this model, I mean the ſecond Scipio Africanus, who had the admirable books of the *Cyropædia* continually in his hands. [a] *Quos quidem libros non ſine cauſa noſter ille Scipio Africanus de manibus ponere non ſolebat. Nullum eſt enim prætermiſſum in his officium diligentis & moderati imperii.*

[a] Cic. Ep. 1. ad Quint. fratr.

III. *The*

III. *The* CONTINUATION *of the* WAR, *the* TAKING *of* BABYLON. NEW CONQUESTS. *The* DEATH *of* CYRUS. Cyrop. lib. 6, &c.

In the council, which was held in the preſence of Cyaxares, it was reſolved to continue the war. They made preparations for it with indefatigable ardour. The enemy's army were ſtill more in number than they had been the preceding campaign, and Egypt alone furniſhed above ſixſcore thouſand men. They met at Thymbræa, a city of Lydia. Cyrus, after taking all neceſſary precautions for ſupplying his army with every thing it might want, in which he was ſurpriſingly particular, as Xenophon relates at large, determined to begin his march. Cyaxares did not follow him, but tarried behind with a third part of the Medes only, that he might not leave his country entirely without troops.

As Abradates, king of Suſiana, was preparing to put on his armour, his wife Panthea brought him an helmet, with bracelets and lockets of maſſy gold, a coat of arms fit for him plaited to the bottom, and a large plume of feathers of a purple colour. She had wrought the moſt part of them with her own hands unknown to her huſband, that ſhe might have the pleaſure of ſurpriſing him with the preſent. And tho' paſſionately fond of him, ſhe exhorted him rather to die with his arms in his hand, than not ſignalize himſelf by ſome action worthy their birth, and the character ſhe had given of him to Cyrus. We, ſays ſhe, are under the higheſt obligations to him. When I was his priſoner, and as ſuch deſigned for him, I was not treated as a ſlave by him, nor reſtored to liberty upon ſhameful conditions. He took as much care of me, as if I had been the wife of his own brother; and I promiſed him that you ſhould be grateful for ſuch a favour. Be not therefore unmindful of it. O Jupiter, cries Abradates, lifting up his eyes to heaven, grant that I may this day ſhew myſelf a huſband worthy of Panthea, and a friend that deſerves ſo generous a benefactor.

nefactor. When he had ſaid this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea who could hold him no longer in her arms, kiſſed the chariot, and following it for ſome time on foot, at length retired.

When the armies were come within view of each other, they prepared for battle. After public and general prayers, Cyrus offered libations in particular, and again beſought the god of his father to eſpouſe his cauſe, and guide him with his aſſiſtance. And hearing a clap of thunder, he cried out, [*b*] *We follow thee, O Jupiter ſupreme*; and inſtantly advanced towards the enemy. As the front of their battle far exceeded that of the Perſians, they in the center ſtood ſtill, whilſt the two wings advanced, inclining to the right and left, with a deſign to ſurround the army of Cyrus, and charged him at the ſame time in ſeveral places. This was what he expected, and was not at all ſurpriſed at. He ran through all the ranks, to encourage his troops, and though upon other occaſions he behaved with ſo much modeſty, and was ſo remote from all appearance of vanity, when he was upon the point to engage, he cried out with a reſolute and deciſive voice, Follow to certain victory; the gods are on our ſide. After giving all neceſſary orders, and cauſing the uſual hymn to be ſung through all the army, he gave the ſignal.

Cyrus began with attacking the wing of the enemy, which had advanced upon the right flank of his army, and having charged it alſo in flank, put it into diſorder. The ſame was done on the other ſide, where they made the ſquadron of camels advance firſt. The enemy's cavalry did not wait their coming up; but as ſoon as the horſes ſaw them at a diſtance, they fell back upon one another, and ſome of them prancing and flinging, threw their riders to the ground. The chariots armed with ſcythes finiſhed what was wanting to complete the confuſion. In the mean time Abradates, who commanded the chariots that were placed

[*b*] God indeed was actually his guide, but a very different God from Jupiter.

at the head of the army, brought them on full ſpeed. The enemy was unable to ſuſtain ſo rough a charge, and were put to the rout. Abradates having pierced them, fell upon the battalions of the Egyptians; but his chariot being unfortunately overturned, he was ſlain with his men, after having given extraordinary proofs of his valour. The battle was fierce on that ſide, and the Perſians were forced to fall back as far as their machines. There the Egyptians found themſelves much incommoded by the arrows that were caſt from thoſe rolling towers, and the battalions of the rear-guard of the Perſians advancing ſword in hand, hindered the archers from paſſing farther, and obliged them to return to their poſt. There was then nought elſe to be ſeen but rivers of blood ſtreaming on every ſide. In the mean time Cyrus came up, after having put to flight whatever had oppoſed him. He was grieved to ſee the Perſians had given way, and judging the Egyptians would ſtill go on to gain ground, he reſolved to attack them in the rear; and in an inſtant having thrown himſelf with his troops behind their battalions, he charged them rudely. The horſe at the ſame time advanced, and attacked the enemy briſkly. The Egyptians, thus encompaſſed on every ſide, faced about on all ſides, and defended themſelves with wonderful courage. Cyrus at laſt admiring their valour, and being unwilling to ſuffer ſo many brave men to be cut in pieces, offered them honourable conditions, repreſenting to them that all their allies had forſaken them. Theſe conditions were accepted, and they afterwards ſerved in his troops with inviolable fidelity.

After the loſs of the battle, Crœſus fled with great diligence to Sardis with his troops, whither Cyrus purſued him the next day, and made himſelf maſter of the city without any reſiſtance.

From thence he marched directly to Babylon, conquering by the way the greater Phrygia and Cappadocia. When he was come before the town, and had carefully examined its ſituation, walls, and fortifications,

tions, every one judged it was abſolutely impoſſible to take it by force. He ſeemed therefore reſolved upon the deſign of carrying it by famine. To this end he cauſed very large and deep ditches to be dug quite round the town, to prevent, as he ſaid, any thing from entering in or going out. The people of the city could not help ridiculing his deſign to beſiege them; and as the town was furniſhed with more than twenty years proviſions, they made a jeſt of all the trouble he was at. When his works were finiſhed, Cyrus was adviſed that a great feſtival was ſoon to be ſolemnized, whereon all the Babylonians ſpent the night in drinking and revelling. Upon the night of the feſtival, which came on early, he cauſed the mouth of the trenches to be opened which pointed towards the rivers, when the water ruſhed impetuouſly into this new channel, and leaving its former bed dry, opened Cyrus a free paſſage into the city. His troops therefore entered without any reſiſtance. They marched forward till they came to the palace, where the king was ſlain. At break of day the citadel ſurrendered upon the news that the town was taken, and the king dead. Cyrus cauſed proclamation to be made in all quarters, that whoever would eſcape with their lives, ſhould tarry in their houſes, and ſend him their arms; which was done immediately. And this was all the trouble this prince had in conquering the richeſt and ſtrongeſt city then in the world.

Cyrus began with returning thanks to the gods for the good ſucceſs they had granted him; he aſſembled the principal officers, publicly commended their courage, wiſdom, zeal, and fidelity, and diſtributed rewards to the whole army. He then remonſtrated to them, that the only way to preſerve what they had acquired, was to perſevere in their ancient virtue; that the fruits of a victory did not conſiſt in abandoning themſelves to eaſe and idleneſs; that after they had conquered the enemy by force of arms, it would be ſhameful to let themſelves be conquered by the allurements of pleaſure; that laſtly, if they would

retain their ancient glory, they muſt maintain the ſame diſcipline at Babylon amongſt the Perſians, as was obſerved in their own country, and to this end employ their chief care in the good education of their children. By this means, ſays he, we ſhall daily grow more virtuous ourſelves, by ſtriving to ſet them good examples; and they cannot eaſily be corrupted, whilſt they neither ſee nor hear any thing from us, but what has a tendency to virtue, and are continually employed in the practice of honeſt and commendable exerciſes.

Cyrus aſſigned the different parts and cares of the government to different perſons, according to the talents he knew them to be maſters of; but he reſerved to himſelf alone the office of forming generals, governors of provinces, miniſters and embaſſadors, as judging this to be properly the duty and buſineſs of a king, and that whereon his glory, the ſucceſs of all his affairs, and the quiet and happineſs of the empire abſolutely depended. Matters relating to the war, the finances, and the civil government, he diſpoſed in a ſurpriſing order. He had perſons of known probity diſperſed through all the provinces, who gave him an account of all that paſſed; and theſe were called the eyes and ears of the prince. He was careful to reward and honour all perſons diſtinguiſhed by their merit, and excelling in any particular whatſoever. He ſet a far greater value upon clemency than courage, as the laſt was often the cauſe of the ruin and deſolation of a people, whereas the other was always beneficial and ſalutary. The laws he judged were of admirable ſervice in contributing to a due regulation of manners; but in his opinion, the prince was to be a living law by his example; and he thought him unworthy to command others, who had not more underſtanding and virtue than his ſubjects. Liberality ſeemed to him a virtue truly royal; but he did not think it comparable to goodneſs, affability, and humanity, virtues proper to gain the hearts and win the affections of the people; which is properly to reign: beſides, that to be fond of giving more than others when

when one is infinitely richer than they, has nothing ſo extraordinary in it, as to deſcend in a manner from the throne, to make himſelf equal with his ſubjects. But the greateſt preference he gave to the worſhip of the gods, and a reverence for religion; as being fully perſuaded, that whoever was religious and feared God, was at the ſame time a good and faithful ſervant to kings, and firmly attached to their perſons and the good of the ſtate.

When Cyrus thought he had given ſufficient orders concerning the affairs of Babylon, he reſolved upon a journey into Perſia. He paſſed through Media to viſit Cyaxares, to whom he made conſiderable preſents, and let him know that he would find a magnificent palace prepared for him at Babylon, whenever he pleaſed to go thither, and that he ſhould look upon that city as properly his own. Cyaxares, who had no male iſſue, offered him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her portion. He was very ſenſible the propoſal was to his advantage, but he could not accept it till he had obtained the conſent of his father and mother; leaving to all after-ages a rare example of the reſpectful ſubmiſſion and entire dependance that all children ought to ſhew to their parents upon ſuch an occaſion, of what age ſoever they be, or to what degree of power and greatneſs ſoever they are arrived. Cyrus then eſpouſed this princeſs at his return from Perſia, and carried her with him to Babylon, where he had fixed the ſeat of his empire.

There he aſſembled his troops. It is ſaid, they conſiſted of ſixſcore thouſand horſe, two thouſand chariots armed with ſcythes, and ſix hundred thouſand foot. With this numerous army he took the field, and ſubdued all the nations from Syria to the Indian ſea. After which he turned his arms againſt Egypt, and brought that country in like manner under his ſubjection.

He took up his reſidence in the midſt of all theſe countries, paſſing uſually ſeven months at Babylon during the winter, becauſe of the warmth of the cli-

mate; three months at Susa in the spring; and two months at Ecbatana, during the great heats of the summer.

After many years spent in this manner, Cyrus returned into Persia for the seventh time since the establishment of his monarchy. Cambyses and Mandane had been long dead, and himself was grown very old. Finding his end to draw near, he called together his sons and the great men of the empire, and when he had thanked the gods for all the favours they had bestowed upon him during his life, and begged a like protection of them for his children, his friends, and his country, he declared his eldest son Cambyses his successor, and left the other several considerable governments. He gave them both excellent advice, by informing them that piety to the gods, a good understanding between brethren, and the care of acquiring and preserving faithful friends, was the firmest support of the throne. He died lamented equally by all his people.

REFLECTIONS.

I shall make two upon this subject; the one concerning the character and personal qualities of Cyrus; and the other upon the truth of his history, as written by Xenophon.

The first REFLECTION.

We may look upon Cyrus as the wisest conqueror and most accomplished hero mentioned in Profane History. He wanted none of the qualities that form a great man; he had wisdom, moderation, courage, greatness of soul, noble sentiments, a wonderful dexterity in directing the will, and conciliating affection; a profound knowledge in all the branches of the art of war, and an extensive understanding, supported by a prudent resolution, in forming and executing great projects.

But

But what was moſt truly great and royal in him, [c] was a thorough conviction that all his care and attention ought to tend to making his people happy; and that a king was not to be diſtinguiſhed from his ſubjects by the ſplendor of riches, the pomp of equipage, or the luxury or expence of his table; but by a ſuperiority of merit in every kind, and eſpecially by an indefatigable application to watch over their intereſts, and to procure them eaſe and plenty. In ſhort, the foundation and baſis in a manner of the ſtate of princes, is not to live for themſelves. To be devoted to the public good, is the very characteriſtic of their real greatneſs. They are like the fountain of light, ſet only in an high place, to be the more univerſally diffuſed: and it would be injurious to them, to confine them within the narrow bounds of perſonal intereſt. They would fall again into the obſcurity of a private condition, if their views were leſs extended than their dominions. The whole claims them, becauſe confided to them.

It was from the aſſemblage of all theſe virtues that Cyrus was enabled in ſo ſhort a time to lay the foundations of an empire, which took in almoſt all the parts of the world; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruit of his conqueſts for many years; that he was ſo much eſteemed and beloved, not only by his natural ſubjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; and that after his death he was generally lamented as the common father of all his people.

We ought not to be ſurpriſed that Cyrus was ſo accompliſhed in every reſpect, as we know that God himſelf had formed him to be the inſtrument and agent of his deſigns of mercy towards his people, and to give the world in his perſon a perfect model of the

[c] Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν, ἢ τῷ πολυτελέστερον δειπνεῖν, ἢ πλέον ἔνδος ἔχειν χρυσίῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ προνοεῖν τε καὶ φιλοπονεῖν προθυμούμενον. Cyrop. l. 1.

Ac mihi quidem videntur hinc omnia eſſe referenda ab iis qui præſunt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt, ſint quàm beatiſſimi. Cic. Ep. 1. 1. 1. ad Quint. fratr.

manner in which princes ought to govern their people, and the real uſe they ought to make of ſovereignty.

When I ſay that this prince was formed by God himſelf, I do not mean by a ſenſible miracle, or that he was at once made ſuch as we admire him in hiſtory. God gave him an happy genius and capacity, by implanting in his mind the ſeeds of every great quality, and in his heart a diſpoſition to the moſt extraordinary virtues. He took care, that theſe happy natural parts ſhould be improved by an excellent education; and thus he prepared him for the great deſigns he had marked out for him. As he is the light of the ſoul, he diſperſed all his doubts, ſuggeſted to him the propereſt expedients, made him attentive to the beſt counſels, enlarged his views, and rendered them more clear and diſtinct. [d] Thus God preſided over all his enterpriſes, led him as it were by the hand in all his conqueſts, opened for him the gates of cities, made the ſtrongeſt ramparts fall down before him, and humbled in his preſence the moſt mighty of the earth.

To ſet the merit of Cyrus in a better light, we need only compare him with another king of Perſia. I mean Xerxes his grandſon, who, hurried on by an abſurd motive of revenge, attempted to ſubdue Greece. We ſee him ſurrounded with whatever is held moſt in eſteem, and makes the greateſt figure in the eyes of men; the largeſt empire at that time in the world, immenſe riches, forces by ſea and land in an almoſt incredible number. But all this was but around him, not in him, and added nothing to his natural qualifications. For through a blindneſs too common amongſt princes and great men, born to the poſſeſſion of unbounded wealth with unlimited power, and encompaſſed with a glory he had been at no pains to acquire,

[d] Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whoſe right-hand I have holden to ſubdue nations before him: And I will looſe the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places ſtrait. I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut aſunder the bars of iron. Iſa. xlv. 1, 2.

he

he had accuſtomed himſelf to judge of his own talents and perſonal merit from the outſide of his high place and ſtate. He deſpiſes the ſage advice of his uncle Artabanus and Demaratus, to give ear only to the flatterers of his vanity. He meaſures the ſucceſs of his enterpriſes by the extent of his power. The ſervile ſubmiſſion of ſo many nations does not ſatisfy his ambition; and diſdaining too ready and eaſy an obedience, he pleaſes himſelf with exerciſing his dominion over the elements, with cutting through mountains, and making them navigable, with chaſtiſing the ſea for breaking down his bridge, and binding the floods with chains. Full of a childiſh vanity and a ridiculous pride, he looks upon himſelf as maſter of nature and the elements; thinks no nation dares oppoſe his way, and with preſumptuous folly and idle aſſurance reckons upon the millions of men and veſſels that follow at his heels. But when after the battle of Salamis, he ſaw the ſad remains and ſhameful ruins of his innumerable troops diſperſed over all Greece, he was then convinced of the difference there was between an army and a multitude of men; [e] *ſtratuſque per totam paſſim Græciam Xerxes intellexit, quantum ab exercitu turba diſtaret.*

I cannot omit applying in this place two of Horace's verſes, which ſeem made for the double event I have now been ſpeaking of.

Vis conſilî expers mole ruit ſua;
Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt
In majus.

"Mere brutal force by its own weight deſcends,
"While force more moderate heaven itſelf be-
friends."

In ſhort, can the army of Xerxes be better deſcribed than by theſe words, *vis conſilî expers*, a power void of counſel and prudence; or can the ſucceſs of it be expreſſed better than by the following terms, *mole ruit*

[e] Senec. l. 6. de Benef. c. 32.

ſua,

ſua, which ſhew how that enormous Coloſſus fell by its own weight and grandeur? Whereas, ſays Horace, the gods take a pleaſure in augmenting a power founded in juſtice, and guided by reaſon, ſuch as was the power of Cyrus, *Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt in majus.*

The ſecond REFLECTION.

One of the rules I laid down as uſeful to direct youth in the ſtudy of hiſtory, was principally to enquire after truth, and early to accuſtom themſelves to know and diſtinguiſh the characters of it. This is the natural place of applying this rule. Herodotus and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in what I look upon to be the eſſential part and ſubſtance of Cyrus's hiſtory, I mean his expedition againſt Babylon, and his other conqueſts, are very different in their accounts of ſeveral other very important facts, ſuch as the birth and death of this prince, and the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire.

Youth ſhould not be left ignorant of theſe differences. Herodotus, and after him Juſtin, relate, that Aſtyages, king of the Medes, upon a frightful dream which he had, married his daughter Mandane, to a Perſian of obſcure birth and condition, named Cambyſes. A ſon being born of this marriage, the king ordered Harpagus one of the principal officers, to put him to death. Harpagus gave him to one of the king's ſhepherds to be expoſed in a foreſt; but the child being miraculouſly preſerved, and brought up privately by the ſhepherd's wife, was at laſt diſcovered by his grandfather, who was ſatisfied with ſending him to a remote part of Perſia, and diſcharged his whole indignation upon the wretched Harpagus, whoſe ſon he cauſed to be killed and dreſſed, and ſerved up to his father at an entertainment. The young Cyrus, ſeveral years after, informed by Harpagus of his birth and ſtation, and encouraged by his advice and remonſtrances, raiſed an army, marched againſt Aſtyages, defeated him in battle, and thereby transferred the empire of the Medes to the Perſians.

The

The ſame Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner very unworthy ſo great a conqueror. This prince according to him, having made war againſt the Scythians, in the firſt battle he counterfeited a flight, leaving behind him a large quantity of wine and proviſions in the field. The Scythians did not fail to fall greedily upon them. Cyrus returned againſt them, and finding them all drunk and aſleep, he defeated them without difficulty, took abundance of them priſoners, and among the reſt the ſon of queen Tomyris, who commanded an army in perſon. This young prince, whom Cyrus refuſed to ſend back to his mother, recovering from his drunkenneſs, and not bearing to ſuffer captivity, killed himſelf. Tomyris, animated with a thirſt of revenge, gave a ſecond battle to the Perſians; and having drawn them in her turn into an ambuſcade by a pretended flight, cut off above two hundred thouſand of them, with Cyrus their king. And then cutting off Cyrus's head, ſhe threw it into a veſſel full of blood, with this inſulting ſpeech, "Cruel as thou "art, ſatiate thyſelf with blood, of which in thy life-"time thou haſt always been inſatiable." *Satia te, inquit, ſanguine quem ſitiſti cujuſque inſatiabilis ſemper fuiſti.*

The queſtion is, which of theſe two hiſtorians, who relate the ſame hiſtory in ſo different a manner, is the beſt authority. Youth themſelves, if properly interrogated by a ſkilful maſter, may eaſily give an anſwer. The account which Herodotus gives of the firſt years of Cyrus has more the air of a fable than an hiſtory. And for his death, what likelihood is there, that a prince ſo experienced in war, and ſtill more commendable for his prudence than valour, ſhould have run headlong into the ſnares laid for him by a woman. What the ſame hiſtorian relates of the violent paſſion and childiſh revenge of Cyrus againſt a river, which had drowned one of his ſacred horſes, and which he cauſed his army to cut directly into three hundred and ſixty channels, is directly oppoſite to the character

character of this prince, [g] who was famous for his mildneſs and moderation. [b] Beſides, is it probable that Cyrus, who was marching to the conqueſt of Babylon, ſhould ſquander time ſo precious to him in this manner, ſpend the ardour of his troops in ſo uſeleſs a labour, and loſe the opportunity of ſurpriſing the Babylonians, by amuſing himſelf by making war upon a river, inſtead of carrying his arms againſt the enemy.

But what abſolutely decides in favour of Xenophon, is the agreement of his account with the holy ſcripture, where we ſee that Cyrus was ſo far from raiſing the empire of the Perſians upon the ruins of that of the Medes, as Herodotus remarks, that thoſe two nations acted in concert in the ſiege of Babylon, and joined their forces to deſtroy that formidable power.

Whence then could ſo great a difference ariſe between theſe two hiſtorians? Herodotus will tell us. In the very paſſage, where he relates the birth of Cyrus, and in that where he ſpeaks of his death, he informs us, there were then very different manners of reporting theſe two great events. Herodotus followed that which was moſt agreeable to his own fancy; and we know he was fond of any thing extraordinary and wonderful, and very eaſily gave credit to it. Xenophon was more ſerious and leſs credulous; and he tells us in the beginning of his hiſtory, that he had very carefully enquired into the birth of Cyrus, his character and education.

We muſt not conclude from what I have ſaid, that Herodotus is not to be credited in any thing, becauſe he is ſometimes miſtaken; this rule would be falſe and

[g] Tully obſerves, that during his whole reign he never let an angry word fall from him; cujus ſummo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum aſperius audivit. Ep. 2. ad Quint. fratr.

[b] Cum Babylonem oppugnaturus feſtinaret ad bellum, cujus maxima momenta in occaſionibus ſunt . . . huc omnem tranſtulit belli apparatum. . . Periit itaque & tempus, magna in magnis rebus jactura; & militum ardor, quem inutilis labor fregit; & occaſio aggrediendi imperatos, dum ille bellum indictum hoſti cum flumine gerit. Senec. lib. 3. de ira, cap. 21.

unjuſt;

unjuſt; as we ſhould be to blame to believe every thing an author ſays, becauſe he ſometimes ſpeaks truth. Truth and falſhood may be found together; but the reader's judgment and prudence conſiſt in knowing how to diſtinguiſh them, in pointing them out by certain peculiar circumſtances, and in making a juſt trial and ſeparation of them. And to this judgment in diſcerning what is true or falſe the boys ſhould be early accuſtomed.

The SECOND PIECE, *taken from the* HISTORY *of the* GREEKS.

Of the GRANDEUR *and* EMPIRE *of* ATHENS.

MY deſign in this ſecond piece of hiſtory is to give ſome idea of the ſuperiority of the Athenians for ſeveral years over all Greece, and to lay open by what means and degrees they arrived at that height of power. The principal perſons who in the ſpace of time we ſpeak of, contributed moſt to the eſtabliſhment and ſupport of the power of this republic, though by very different qualifications, were Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Cimon, and Pericles.

Themiſtocles indeed laid the foundation of this new power by one ſingle piece of advice, in turning the whole power and views of the Athenians towards the ſea. Cimon brought theſe naval forces into ſervice by his maritime expeditions, which reduced the Perſian empire to the very brink of ruin. Ariſtides ſupplied the expences of the war by his wiſe œconomy in the management of the public treaſure. And Pericles, by his prudence ſupported and augmented what the others had acquired, in mixing the gentle exerciſes of peace with the tumultuous expeditions of war. Thus the riſe of the Athenians was owing to the happy concurrence and mixture of the policy of Themiſtocles, the activity of Cimon, the diſintereſtedneſs of Ariſtides, and the wiſdom of Pericles; ſo that if any one of theſe cauſes had been wanting, Athens would never have obtained the ſupremacy of Greece.

The

The good ſucceſs of the battle of Marathon, where Themiſtocles was preſent, firſt kindled in his heart that thirſt of glory, which followed him ever after, and ſometimes carried him too far. The trophies of Miltiades, he ſaid, left him no reſt either by day or night. He reſolved from that time to make his name and country illuſtrious by ſome great action, and render it ſuperior to Lacedæmon, which had long lorded it over all Greece. With this view he judged it would be expedient to turn all the force of Athens towards the ſea, ſeeing that as it was weak by land, that was the only means of making it neceſſary to its allies, and formidable to its enemies. Covering therefore his deſigns under the plauſible pretext of the war againſt the Æginetæ, he cauſed a fleet of an hundred ſhips to be built, which ſoon after was a great inſtrument in contributing to the ſafety of Greece.

The inviolable affection Ariſtides bore to juſtice, obliged him upon ſeveral occaſions to oppoſe Themiſtocles, who was not over ſcrupulous in that point, and managed ſo by his intrigues and cabals, as to procure the baniſhment of Ariſtides. In this kind of judgment the citizens gave their votes by writing the name of the perſon upon a ſhell, in Greek called ὄστρακον, whence was derived the name of oſtraciſm. A peaſant upon this occaſion who knew not how to write, and did not know Ariſtides, applied to himſelf, deſiring he would put the name of Ariſtides upon his ſhell. Why, ſays Ariſtides, has he done you any wrong, that you would thus condemn him? No, replied the other, I do not ſo much as know him, but I cannot endure to hear every body calling him *Juſt*. Ariſtides, without one word of anſwer, quietly takes his ſhell, writes his name upon it, and gives it to him back again. He took his leave with an earneſt prayer, that the gods would not inflict any misfortune upon his country to make him regreted. The great Camillus in a like caſe did not follow his generoſity, but offered up a quite different petition. [*i*] *In exilium*

[*i*] Liv. lib. 5. n. 32.

abiit,

abiit, precatus, ab diis immortalibus, ſi innoxio ſibi ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempore deſiderium ſui civitati ingratæ facerent. "Going into baniſhment, he prayed "the immortal gods that if he was condemned unjuſtly, they would take the earlieſt opportunity of "making his ungrateful city regret his loſs." I ſhall hereafter examine what we are to think of the oſtraciſm. Ariſtides was very ſoon recalled.

The expedition of Xerxes againſt Greece haſtened his return. All the allies united their forces to repel the common enemy. They were then ſenſible how ſerviceable the prudent foreſight of Themiſtocles was, who under another pretence had built an hundred gallies. They doubled this number upon the arrival of Xerxes. When they came to nominate the generaliſſimo, that was to command the fleet, the Athenians, who alone were maſters of two thirds of the veſſels, laid claim to the honour, and moſt juſtly. However, all the voices of the allies were unanimous in favour of Eurybiades the Lacedæmonian. Themiſtocles, though young and very deſirous of glory, judged that upon this occaſion he ought to lay aſide his own intereſt for the common good of his country; and telling the Athenians, that if they behaved with courage, the Greeks would ſoon of their own accord confer the command upon them, he perſuaded them to yield to the Lacedæmonians as he did. I have elſewhere related with what moderation and prudence this young Athenian behaved both in the council of war, and at the battle of Salamis, whereof he had all the honour, though he was not the commander in chief.

From that glorious victory the reputation and credit of the Athenians very much increaſed. They behaved with great modeſty upon the occaſion, and ſought only to advance their power by honourable and juſt means. Mardonius, who was left in Greece with an army of three hundred thouſand men, made them very advantageous propoſals in his maſter's name, to draw them off from the allies. He promiſed entirely

to

to rebuild their city, which had been burnt down, to ſupply them with large ſums of money, and gvie them the command all over Greece. The Lacedæmonians terrified with the news ſent deputies to Athen, to diſſuade them from a compliance, and offered to receive and provide for their wives, their children, and their old men, and furniſh them with every thing elſe they wanted. Ariſtides was then in power. He anſwered that he excuſed the Barbarians, who valued nothing but gold and ſilver, for hoping to corrupt their fidelity by large promiſes; but he was ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed to ſee that the poverty and preſent miſery of the Athenians ſhould have ſuch an effect upon the Lacedæmonians, as to make them forget ſo much their valour and generoſity, as to imagine they ſtood in need of their exhortation to fight manfully for the common ſafety of Greece, from the view of any rewards that they could offer; that they ſhould tell their republic, that all the gold in the world could not tempt the Athenians, or make them abandon the defence of the common liberty; that they thanked the Lacedæmonians however for their obliging offers, but they ſhould take care to put their allies to no expence. And then turning to the deputies of Mardonius, and ſtretching out his hand to the ſkies, "Know, ſays he, whilſt yon ſun ſhall continue his "courſe, the Athenians will be mortal enemies to the "Perſians, and never ceaſe to revenge upon them "the ravage of their lands, and the burning of their "houſes and temples."

Themiſtocles in the mean time did not loſe ſight of the great project he had formed for ſupplanting the Lacedæmonians, and ſubſtituting the Athenians in their place; and without much concern about the choice of the means, he thought every thing juſt and good that promoted that end. One day in a full aſſembly of the citizens, he declared that he had a deſign of great importance, but could not communicate it to the people, becauſe the ſucceſs of it depended upon its being kept ſecret; he deſired therefore

fore they would nominate ſomebody to whom he might explain himſelf. They all named Ariſtides, and referred themſelves abſolutely to his opinion. Themiſtocles, taking him aſide, told him he thought of burning the Grecian fleet, which lay in a neighbouring port; and that if this was done, Athens would certainly become miſtreſs of all Greece. Ariſtides returned to the aſſembly, and barely declared, that nothing in the world could be more advantageous than the project of Themiſtocles, nor any thing at the ſame time more unjuſt. The people with one conſent forbad Themiſtocles to proceed in it any farther.

We ſee by this that the ſurname of *Juſt* was deſervedly conferred upon Ariſtides during his life-time; a title, ſays Plutarch, infinitely preferable to all that are purſued by the greateſt conquerors with ſo much ardour, and in ſome meaſure bordering upon divinity. One day, as a verſe of Æſchylus was repeated upon the theatre, in which the poet, ſpeaking of Amphiaraus, ſays, *That he ſought not to appear juſt, but to be ſo*; the whole people immediately caſt their eyes upon Ariſtides, and applied to him that admirable encomium.

The Perſian army received a terrible blow in the famous battle of Platæa. Out of three hundred thouſand men commanded by Mardonius, ſcarce forty thouſand eſcaped. Pauſanias, one of the kings of Sparta, was at the head of the Grecian army. He behaved at that time with great equity and moderation, as appears from two ſtories related by [*k*] Herodotus, which are very particular.

After the victory of Platæa, one of the principal citizens of Ægina adviſed him to revenge upon the body of Mardonius the death of ſo many brave Spartans, as were ſlain at Thermopylæ, and the unworthy treatment his uncle Leonidas had met with from Xerxes and Mardonis, who fixed his body to a gibbet. "Would you adviſe me then, ſays he, to imitate the "Barbarians in the thing we hate? If the eſteem of "the Æginetæ is to be bought at ſo dear a rate, I

[*k*] Lib. 5.

" ſhall be content with pleaſing the Lacedæmonians, " who ſet a value only upon virtue and merit. As to " Leonidas and his companions, they are without " doubt ſufficiently revenged by the blood of ſo " many thouſand Perſians as have been ſlain in the " battle."

The ſecond ſtory is no leſs remarkable. Pauſanias, who had found an immenſe booty in the camp of the enemy, ordered two entertainments of a very different kind to be ſerved up in the ſmall hall. In one was diſplayed at full length the magnificence of the Perſians, rich beds, coſtly carpets, gold and ſilver veſſels innumerable, a prodigious variety of meats dreſſed with all the delicacy imaginable, wines and liquors of all ſorts. The other was very plain after the Spartan manner, that is bread and water, and at moſt the black-broth. Pauſanias applying himſelf to the Greek officers, whom he had purpoſely invited, and pointing to the two different tables, " See, [*l*] ſays he to them, " the folly of the general of the Medes, though ac- " cuſtomed to dine upon ſuch meals as theſe, he " thought to conquer us, who live ſo hardily."

The advantage the Greeks had lately gained put them into a condition to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the allies, who were yet under the power of the Perſians. This fleet was commanded by Pauſanias the Lacedæmonian. Ariſtides and Cimon were the generals of the Athenians. They firſt ſet ſail towards Cyprus, then to Byzantium, and took it; and in all places reſtored the allies to their liberty; but ſoon after fell themſelves into a new kind of ſlavery. Pauſanias, grown haughty upon the victories he had obtained, quitted the manners and cuſtoms of his country, aſſumed the habit and ſtate of the Perſians, and imitated their pomp and magnificence. He treated the allies with inſupportable ſeverity; ſpoke to the officers with a lofty and menacing air; required ex-

[*l*] Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶν δὲ ἕνεκα ἦλθον δεῦξαι· ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων, ἐγὼ ὑμέων συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν ἦλθη ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω ἐπιζυγὴν ἔχοντας τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύ- ἀπαιρησόμενος.

travagant

travagant honours to be paid him; and by his conduct rendered the government of the Lacedæmonians odious to all the allies. The gentle, good-natured, and obliging behaviour of Ariſtides and Cimon, the humanity and juſtice which appeared in all their actions; the care they took to offend nobody, and be ſerviceable to all, contributed to make the difference of characters ſtill more remarkable, and to increaſe the diſcontent. The affair at laſt broke out into an open rupture, and the allies all ſubmitted to the command of the Athenians, and put themſelves under their protection. Thus, ſays Plutarch, Ariſtides, by oppoſing gentleneſs and good nature to the pride and cruelty of Pauſanias, and inſpiring the ſame ſentiments into Cimon his colleague, withdrew the affections of the allies imperceptibly from the Lacedæmonians, and at laſt deprived him of the command, not by the force of fleets and armies, and ſtill leſs by fraud and treachery, but by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable through their diſcreet and mild behaviour.

The Lacedæmonians upon this occaſion ſhewed a generoſity and moderation, which cannot be too much admired. For perceiving that too great authority had rendered their officers haughty and inſolent, they readily gave up the ſuperiority they had till then held over the reſt of the Greeks, and forbore to deſire that the command of their army ſhould be intruſted to any more of their generals, [*m*] chuſing rather to have diſcreet and modeſt citizens, and ſuch as would abſolutely ſubmit to the diſcipline and laws of their country, than to preſerve the preheminence over the other Greeks.

Hitherto the cities and people of Greece had contributed certain ſums of money to defray the expence of the war againſt the Barbarians; but this collection had always occaſioned great diſcontents, as it had not been raiſed in due proportion. It was therefore judged

[*m*] Μᾶλλον αἱρέμενοι σοφρονοῦντας πολίτας, ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔχειν τὴν ἔχειν ᾗ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἐμμένοντας τοῦς ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης. Plut. in vit. Ariſtid.

expedient under the new government to eſtabliſh a new order for the finances, and fix a tax, to be regulated by the revenue of every city and people, that the charges of the ſtate being equally divided amongſt its reſpective members, none of them might have cauſe to complain. The buſineſs was to find out a fit perſon for the diſcharge of an employment of ſuch moment to the public, and yet ſo nice, and full of dangers and inconveniencies. All the allies made choice of Ariſtides. They gave him a full power, and referred themſelves abſolutely to his prudence and juſtice for the impoſition of the tax. Nor had they any cauſe to repent of their choice. He managed the public money with the fidelity and diſintereſtedneſs of one who looks upon it as a capital crime to lay his hand upon the property of another, with the care and activity of a father of a family inſpecting into his own revenue, and with the caution and religion of a perſon, who conſiders the public money as a ſacred treaſure. Laſtly, what is very difficult and very rare, he acquired the affection of every body in a ſtation, where a man muſt manage well not to make himſelf odious. This glorious encomium Seneca beſtows upon a perſon intruſted with a like employment, which is the higheſt character that can be given a miniſter, to whom the public treaſures are confided. I ſhall give his words in Latin, not being able to expreſs the ſtrong and elegant brevity of Seneca in our own language, in the manner I could wiſh. *Tu quidem orbis terrarum rationes adminiſtras, tam abſtinenter quam alienas, tam diligenter quam tuas, tam religioſe quam publicas. In officio amorem conſequeris, in quo odium vitare difficile eſt.* This is literally what Ariſtides did. He ſhewed ſo much equity and wiſdom in the adminiſtration of his office, that nobody complained of him; and his time was ever after regarded as the golden age of Greece. In ſhort, the tax he had fixed to four hundred and ſixty talents was advanced by Pericles to ſix hundred, and ſoon after to thirteen hundred talents; not that the charge of the war amounted ſo high, but becauſe of many uſeleſs

expences

expences in distributions to the people of Athens, in the celebrating of plays and festivals, in the building of temples and public edifices; and besides, the hands of those, who had the counting of the public money, were not always so pure and clean as the hands of Aristides.

For it is remarkable that this great man was poorer when he left his employment, in which men usually grow rich, than when he first entered upon it; insomuch that after his death there was not enough in his house to defray the expences of his funeral. The people charged themselves with it, and also with the maintenance of his daughters, and giving them portions [*n*]. This condition, so despicable in the eyes of the generality of mankind, was the choice of Aristides, in which he always persevered out of taste and inclination; and so far was he from being ashamed of his poverty, that he looked upon it to be no less glorious than all the trophies and victories he had gained. Plutarch gives a proof of it, which I cannot omit here.

Callias, a very near relation of Aristides, and the richest citizen in Athens, was brought to a trial upon an accusation against him. His accuser, insisting little upon the merits of his cause, chiefly objected to him, that rich as he was, he was not ashamed to see Aristides, his wife, and children, reduced to want, without relieving their necessities. Callias observing that this reproach made a great impression upon the minds of his judges, summoned Aristides to declare before them, whether it was not true, that he had several times offered him large sums of money, and even pressed him to accept of them; and whether he had not constantly refused them, by saying, that he could boast more justly of his poverty, than the other of his riches; that a great many might be found who made a good or bad use of their riches, but it was not easy to meet with one who bore poverty with courage and generosity; and that none but those who were poor against

[*n*] Αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τῇ πενίᾳ, καὶ ἥδιον ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τροπαίων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πένης εἶναι δόξαν ἐδέξατο διετέλεσε. Plut.

their will ought to be ashamed of being so. Aristides owned that all his kinsman had said was true. And there was no person in the assembly, who was not thoroughly convinced in his own mind, that it was much better to be poor like Aristides, than rich like Callias. Hence Plato reckoning up such as were most famous among the Athenians, set a value upon none but Aristides. For the rest [o], says he, as Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they adorned the city indeed with portico's, and sumptuous buildings; filled it with gold and silver, and such other superfluities and curiosities; but he left behind him the model of a perfect government, by proposing no other end in all his actions than the making his citizens more virtuous.

[p] Cimon had also very great qualities, which contributed very much to the establishing and confirming the power of the Athenians. Besides the sums of money, in which every one of the allies were taxed, they were besides to furnish a certain number of men and ships. Several of them, who after the retreat of Xerxes were desirous only of repose, and sought nothing more than to cultivate their lands in peace, chose rather to send money than men, and left to the Athenians the care of filling up the vacancies of soldiers and seamen they were obliged to supply. At first this occasioned great uneasiness, and they seemed resolved to put them upon the literal execution of the treaty. Cimon took a quite opposite method. He suffered them to enjoy peace in quiet, as perceiving that the allies, though formerly brave soldiers, would soon be fit for nothing but husbandry and merchandise, whilst the Athenians, who had constantly their oars or their arms in their hands, would daily grow better soldiers, and become more powerful. This was a necessary consequence; those very people at their own proper expence and charges gave themselves masters, and from being com-

[o] Θεμιστοκλέα μὲν γὰρ, καὶ Κίμωνα, καὶ Περικλέα, τοῖχων καὶ χρημάτων, καὶ φλυαρίας, πολλῆ κατασκευάσαι τῶν πόλιν. Ἀριστίδην δὲ πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἀρετήν. Plut. in vit. Aristid.

[p] Plut. in vit. Cimon.

panions

panions and allies, became in a manner ſubject and tributary to the Athenians.

[q] No general among the Greeks ever humbled the pride and power of the great king of Perſia, like Cimon. When the Barbarians were driven out of Greece, he left them no breathing time, but purſued them briſkly with a fleet of above two hundred ſail, got poſſeſſion of their ſtrongeſt places, and drew off all their allies, that the king of Perſia had not a ſoldier left in all Aſia from the country of Ionia to Pamphylia. And ſtill purſuing his point, he had the boldneſs to fall upon the enemies fleet, though far more numerous than his own, at the mouth of the river Eurymedon. He entirely defeated it, and took above two hundred veſſels, without reckoning thoſe that were ſunk. The Perſians had quitted their veſſels, to join their army by land, which lay hard by, and were coaſting the ſhore. Cimon, taking advantage of the ardour of his ſoldiers, who were encouraged by their late ſucceſs, landed them immediately, and led them directly againſt the Barbarians, who firmly ſtood their ground, and ſupported the firſt ſhock with a great deal of courage. But at laſt being forced to give way, they took to their heels. They made a great ſlaughter, took an infinite number of priſoners, and an immenſe booty. Cimon having thus gained two victories in one day, which equalled, if not exceeded in glory, the two great battles of Salamis and Platæa, to complete all, went to meet a ſupply of fourſcore Phœnician veſſels, which were coming to join the fleet of the Perſians, and knew nothing of what had paſſed. They were all taken or ſunk, and moſt of the ſoldiers killed or drowned. This exploit ſo humbled the pride of the king of Perſia, that he conſented to that treaty of peace ſo much talked of in ancient hiſtory, by which he promiſed, that his army by land ſhould never come nearer the Grecian ſea than 430 *Stadia*, which make near twenty leagues, and that his gallies or other veſ-

[q] Plut. in vit. Cimon.

ſels of war ſhould not go beyond the Chalidonian or Cyanean iſlands.

Cimon returned to Athens full of glory, and applied part of the ſpoils in fortifying the port, and adorning the city. [r] During his abſence Pericles had acquired conſiderable authority among the people. He was not naturally of a popular diſpoſition, but became ſo thro' policy, to remove the ſuſpicions which might be conceived of his aſpiring to tyranny, as alſo to counterbalance the credit and authority of Cimon, who was ſupported by the faction of the rich and powerful. Pericles had an excellent education, and had been formed by the moſt able philoſophers of his age, [s] Anaxagoras, who was the firſt that aſcribed human events and the government of the world, not to a blind chance or a fatal neceſſity, but to a ſupreme intelligence or mind, which governed and directed all things with the greateſt wiſdom, had thoroughly inſtructed him in natural philoſophy, or phyſics. This ſtudy had given him an extraordinary force and elevation of mind; and inſtead of the mean and timorous ſuperſtition engendered by ignorance, inſpired him, ſays Plutarch, with a ſolid piety towards the Gods, accompanied with a firm reſolution, and ſure hope of the bleſſings to be expected from them. This ſcience was alſo uſeful to him in his expeditions. For when the fleet of the Athenians were preparing to ſet ſail againſt Peloponneſus, an eclipſe of the ſun happening, Pericles taking notice that the pilot of his own galley was terrified at the ſudden darkneſs, threw his cloak over his eyes, and told him the ſame cauſe hindered him from ſeeing the ſun. He was alſo well verſed in eloquence, which he looked upon as neceſſary to one that would govern and manage the people. [t] The poets ſaid of him, that he *fulminated, thundered, and ſet all Greece in a ferment*, he excelled ſo much in the art of ſpeaking. He was no leſs prudent and reſerved, than ſtrong and

[r] Plut. in vit. Pericl.

[s] For this reaſon Anaxagoras was called Νοῦς, intelligence or mind.

[t] Ab Ariſtophane Poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiſcere Græciam dictus eſt. Orat. n. 29.

vehement

vehement in his diſcourſe; and it is obſerved, that he never ſpoke in public without praying to the gods, not to let an expreſſion fall from him, which was not proper to his ſubject. Eupolis ſaid of him, that the goddeſs of perſuaſion ſat upon his lips; and as [u] Thucydides, his adverſary and rival, was one day aſked, who wreſtled beſt, he or Pericles? When I have got him down, ſays he, upon the ground, he maintains the contrary with ſo much force, that he perſuades the ſtanders by to diſbelieve their own eyes, and think that he did not fall.

[x] Such was the adverſary, with whom Cimon was often obliged to contend, when he returned from his glorious campaigns. But as Pericles, from his obliging manner and the force of his eloquence, had made himſelf maſter of the affections of the people, he eaſily got the better of Cimon, and occaſioned his being baniſhed by oſtraciſm. However, within five years he was recalled upon the ill ſtate of the affairs of Athens in regard to the Lacedæmonians; and Pericles ſacrificing his jealouſy to the good of the public, was not aſhamed to write and carry the decree himſelf, by which his adverſary was recalled. As ſoon as he returned, he reſtored peace, and reconciled the two powers. And to remove from the Athenians, who were puffed up with the good ſucceſs of ſo many victories, all farther inclination or opportunity to fall upon their neighbours and allies, he judged it neceſſary to lead them againſt the common enemy, that by this honourable method he might at the ſame time exerciſe and enrich his fellow-citizens. He therefore fitted out a fleet of two hundred ſail. Sixty of theſe he ſent againſt Egypt, and carried the reſt againſt the iſle of Cyprus. He beat the enemies fleet, and whilſt he was laying a ſcheme for the entire deſtruction of the Perſian empire, he received a wound at the ſiege of a city in Cyprus, of which he died. He prudently adviſed the Athenians to retreat in good order and

[u] This was not the hiſtorian. x] Plut. in vit. Cimon.

conceal

conceal his death. This direction was obſerved, and they ſafely returned home under the conduct and protection of Cimon, though dead above thirty days before. From that time the Greeks never did any thing conſiderable againſt the Barbarians; they fell into diviſions amongſt themſelves, gave the common enemy time to retrieve their affairs, and ruined themſelves with their own forces.

Cimon was generally lamented, and the conſequence ſhewed how great a loſs Greece ſuſtained in his perſon. He was rich and opulent; but [y] ſays Plutarch, quoting the expreſs words of Gorgias, he was poſſeſſed of a great eſtate only to uſe it, and uſed it only to make himſelf beloved and honoured. [z] Hiſtory relates ſuch things of his liberality, as ſeem incredible to us, they are ſo different from the practice of our own times. His gardens and orchards were always open to the citizens, to take what fruit they liked beſt. He had every day a table frugally ſerved, but with proviſion for abundance of people, and all the poor in the city had admittance to it. He had conſtantly ſeveral ſervants behind him, with orders to ſlip privately ſome pieces of money into the hands of the poor they ſhould meet, and to give clothes to ſuch as wanted them. He frequently took care to bury ſuch as had not left enough to defray the expences of a funeral. And all this was not done to gain the affections and votes of the populace; for we have already obſerved that he declared in favour of the oppoſite faction, the rich and the noble. It is by no means ſurpriſing that a man of his character ſhould be ſo much honoured during his life, and lamented after his death.

From that time, and eſpecially after Thucydides the father-in-law of Cimon was baniſhed by oſtraciſm, there being no body left to balance the authority of Pericles, he had an abſolute power at Athens, diſ-

[y] Φησὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κεῖσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῶτο, χρῆθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο.

[z] Corn. Nep. & Plut. in vit. Cimon.

poſing

posing of the finances, troops, and fleet, and managing all public affairs at his sole discretion. He then began to change his conduct, not complying as before with the caprice and fancies of the people, but substituting instead of his former complaisance and indulgence, a more firm and independant manner of government, without however departing in any thing from right reason, and the love of the public good. He often engaged the people by remonstrances and arguments to submit voluntarily to what he proposed; but sometimes also by a salutary constraint he obliged them to consent to their own advantage; herein imitating the conduct of a wise physician, who in the course of a long illness complies sometimes with the patient's humour, but frequently orders such medicines, as make him sick and torment him, whilst they cure him. Finding himself therefore at the head of a haughty people, as he had a wonderful dexterity in managing their dispositions, he would, according to different conjunctures, sometimes employ terror to correct the pride, occasioned by their good successes, and sometimes hope to re-animate their courage when depressed by adversity; shewing that rhetoric, as Plato observes, is only the art of inclining and captivating the hearts and understandings of others, and that the surest way to succeed in it, is to know how to make a proper use of the passions, which seldom or never fails of success.

What gave Pericles such great credit among the people, was not only the irresistible force of his eloquence, but the high opinion they had of his merit, his prudence, his ability in the affairs of the public, and above all his disinterestedness; [a] for he was judged incapable of being corrupted by presents, or governed by avarice. In short, though he was long sole master of the republic, had raised the grandeur of Athens to the highest point of which it was capable, and heaped up immense treasures in the city, he did not increase the estate his father left him one single drachma. He always managed his patrimony indeed

[a] Ἀνδροτάτῳ περιφανῶς γενομένῳ, καὶ χρημάτων κρείττονος.

with

with œconomy, took an exact account of the laying out of his revenue, and retrenched all extravagant and superfluous expences, to the great displeasure of his wife and children, who affected shew and magnificence: but to all this vain and frivolous glory he preferred the [b] solid satisfaction of assisting a great number of distressed citizens.

He was no less excellent as a general than as a statesman. The troops had an entire confidence in him, and followed him with equal assurance. His great maxim in war was not to hazard a battle, till he was almost secure of success, and to spare the blood of the citizens. He used to say, that was it in his power, they should be immortal; that trees cut down and destroyed might grow up again in time, but men that were dead were gone for ever. A victory obtained by a successful temerity, in his opinion, did not deserve any commendation, though often much admired. He was so firmly attached to this maxim, that nothing could ever divert him from it, as was evidently seen at the time the Lacedæmonians made an irruption into Attica. Like a pilot, says Plutarch, who after he has given necessary orders in a storm to all around him, despises the prayers and tears of his companions; so Pericles, having taken wise measures for the security of his country, and resolving not to march out of the city against the enemy, [c] continued firm and unshaken in his resolution, though solicited by the most pressing intreaties of several of his friends, menaced and accused by his enemies, made the subject of ballads and lampoons, and censured as a man of no courage, and a traitor to his country. This constancy and greatness of soul is a very necessary qualification in the administration of public affairs.

Thus all the military expeditions of Pericles, which were many in number, constantly succeeded to his wishes, and justly acquired him the reputation of a general consummate in the art of war.

[b] Βοηθῶν πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων. βραχέα φροντίζων τῶν καταβοώντων καὶ
[c] Ἐχρῆτο ταῖς αὐτῷ λογισμοῖς, δυσχεραινόντων.

He

He did not ſuffer himſelf to be fluſhed by fortune, nor followed the blind ardour of the people, who elate from ſo many inſtances of good ſucceſs, and haughty from a power which was daily increaſing, meditated new conqueſts, projected vaſt ſchemes, and dreamt of nothing but attacking Egypt again, and ſubduing the maritime provinces of the Perſian empire. Many even then began to caſt their eyes upon Sicily, and indulge the unhappy and fatal thoughts of ſending a fleet againſt it; thoughts which Alcibiades ſoon after revived, to the entire ruin of Athens. Pericles employed his whole credit and abilities to ſuppreſs theſe unruly ſallies and reſtleſs diſpoſitions. He rather choſe to preſerve and ſecure the old conqueſts, judging it ſufficient to confine the Lacedæmonians within due bounds, who looked upon the power and grandeur of Athens with a jealous eye.

This grandeur was not only ſplendid abroad by victories acquired over the enemy, but ſtill more ſo at home from the magnificence of the buildings and works wherewith Pericles had adorned and embelliſhed the city, which threw ſtrangers into admiration and rapture, and gave them a great idea of the Athenian power.

'Tis ſurpriſing to ſee in how little time ſo many different works of architecture, ſculpture, engraving, and painting, were finiſhed and yet carried to the higheſt pitch of perfection. For works, finiſhed with ſo much eaſe and haſte, have not generally a ſolid and laſting grace, nor the regular exactneſs of perfect beauty. Nothing but length of time and aſſiduity of labour can give them force to preſerve and make them triumph over ages. And it is this makes the works of Pericles the more admirable, which were finiſhed with ſo much rapidity, and notwithſtanding laſted ſo long. For every one of them, as ſoon as erected, had the beautiful air of antiquity; and even now, ſays Plutarch, above five hundred years after, they have a certain air of youth and freſhneſs, as if but juſt come from the hands of the workman; they ſtill retain a grace and newneſs, that

that time cannot extinguiſh, as though they were animated with immortal youth, and a ſoul exempt from age was diffuſed quite through them.

Phidias, the famous ſculptor, was overſeer of the works. 'Twas he in particular, who made the famous golden ſtatue of Minerva, ſo much eſteemed by the connoiſſeurs of antiquity. There was an incredible ardour and emulation among the workmen. Every one ſtrove who ſhould moſt excel, and immortalize their names by the excellency of their work.

What occaſioned the admiration of the whole world, raiſed a jealouſy againſt Pericles. His enemies were inceſſantly crying out in the public aſſemblies, that it was a diſhonour to the people to apply to their own uſe the wealth of Greece, which he had cauſed to be brought from Delos, where it was depoſited; that the allies could not look upon ſuch an attempt but as manifeſt tyranny, whilſt they ſaw the money they had been compelled to raiſe for the war, employed by the Athenians, in gilding and adorning their city, in making fine ſtatues, and erecting temples at the expence of millions.

Pericles, on the other hand, remonſtrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give an account to their allies of the money they had received; that it was enough that they defended them, and kept the Barbarians at a diſtance, whilſt on their ſide they furniſhed neither ſoldiers, nor horſes, nor ſhips, and were excuſed for certain ſums of money, which as ſoon as paid in, were no longer theirs who paid them, but the property of thoſe that received them, provided they performed the conditions for which they were given. He added, that the city being ſufficiently provided with all ſtores neceſſary for war, it was proper to employ the reſt of their wealth in ſuch works, as when finiſhed would procure immortal glory; and whilſt they were in hand, would diffuſe univerſal plenty, and ſubſiſt a great number of citizens. One day, as the complaints ran high againſt him, he offered to take the whole charges upon himſelf, provided

vided the public inſcriptions might declare that all was done at his expence. At theſe words the people, either through admiration of his magnanimity, or unwilling through emulation to grant him that glory, cried out, that he might make uſe of the treaſury, to ſupply all the neceſſary expences, as freely as he pleaſed.

The enemies of Pericles, not venturing any more to fall directly upon him, accuſed before the people the perſons that were moſt firmly attached to him, Phidias, Aſpaſia, and Anaxagoras. Pericles, who was thoroughly acquainted with the lightneſs and inconſtancy of the Athenians, fearing he ſhould at laſt be obliged to ſink under the machinations and intrigues of his invidious adverſaries, to divert the ſtorm, kindled the Peloponneſian war which had been ſo long preparing; aſſured that he ſhould thereby put a ſtop to the complaints that were raiſed againſt him, and appeaſe envy; becauſe in ſo preſſing a danger, the city would not fail to put the public affairs into his hands, and ſubmit to his conduct, upon the account of his great power and reputation.

REFLECTIONS.

I ſhall make three; the firſt upon the character of the perſon ſpoken of in this piece of hiſtory; the ſecond upon oſtraciſm; and the third upon the emulation, which reigned in Greece, and eſpecially at Athens, with reference to the politer arts.

I. CHARACTERS *of* THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON, *and* PERICLES.

We ought not, in my opinion, to paſs over this piece of hiſtory, without aſking the pupils which of theſe four great men they like beſt, and which of their good or ill qualities affect them moſt; and without pointing out to them the particular lineaments that diſtinguiſh their ſeveral characters.

There

There is ſomething in Themiſtocles which ſtrikes exceedingly; and the ſingle battle of Salamis, of which he had all the honour, gives him a right to diſpute glory with the greateſt. He there ſhewed invincible courage, a perfect knowledge in the art of war, an extraordinary greatneſs of ſoul, joined to a wiſdom and moderation, which very much exalt their merit; eſpecially in the inſtances of his prevailing with the Athenians to reſign the general command of the fleet to the Lacedæmonians, and his bearing the injurious treatment of Eurybiades, with a patience and temper beyond his years.

But what is moſt admirable in the character of Themiſtocles is, that penetration and preſence of mind, which let nothing eſcape him. After a ſhort and haſty deliberation, he could immediately point out the beſt meaſures that were to be taken; and was extremely dextrous in diſcerning what was moſt ſuitable to the preſent occaſion; and could foretel by almoſt infallible conjectures the events of things. The deſign he laid and executed of making the Athenians ſtrong at ſea, ſhewed he had a ſuperior genius, capable of the greateſt views, of looking into futurity, and laying hold of the deciſive point in affairs. As they poſſeſſed but a barren territory of ſmall extent, he ſaw they had no other means of increaſing their riches and power, of making themſelves neceſſary to their allies, and formidable to their enemies. Now this project may juſtly be conſidered as the ſource and cauſe of all the great events, which afterwards rendered the republic of Athens ſo flouriſhing.

But it muſt be owned, the black and perfidious deſign [*d*] Themiſtocles propoſed, of burning the Grecian fleet in a time of peace, to increaſe the Athenian power, muſt take off infinitely from the good opinion we ſhould otherwiſe have of him; for, as we have often obſerved, it is the heart, *i. e.* probity and integrity, which conſtitute and determine real merit. And ſo the people of Athens judged. I queſtion whether

[*d*] Cornel. Nepos & Plut.

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in all hiſtory we have a fact more deſerving our admiration than this. We have not here a body of philoſophers, who can eaſily lay down excellent maxims in their ſchools, and teach ſublime rules of morality, to ſhew that the uſeful ought not to take place. But here an entire people, intereſted in the propoſal made to them, and admitting it very advantageous to the ſtate, without a moment's heſitation, reject it unanimouſly for this only reaſon, becauſe it is unjuſt.

The great talents of Themiſtocles were alſo very much ſullied, by an exceſſive deſire of glory, and an unbounded ambition, that he could never keep within juſt bounds, which led him to oppoſe the merit of all ſuch as could diſpute glory with him, and occaſioned the baniſhment of Ariſtides, and made him end his days in a diſhonourable manner in a foreign land, and amongſt the enemies of his country.

Pericles, when he undertook the management of public affairs, found the city in the moſt flouriſhing condition of power and greatneſs to which it had ever attained; whereas his predeceſſors had rendered it ſo. And if it be any diminution of his glory to ſay, that his buſineſs was only to ſupport it in the condition, to which others had raiſed it; we may obſerve on the other hand, that this was rather a circumſtance to his advantage, as it muſt have been very difficult to rule, and keep within the bounds of their duty, a body of haughty citizens, that were become almoſt untractable through proſperity.

He ſupported himſelf at the head of affairs, and with an almoſt abſolute power, not for a few days, or a ſmall compaſs of time, but during forty years, tho' he had a great many illuſtrious adverſaries to contend with; which is almoſt unexampled. And this circumſtance alone is enough to convince us of the extent, ſuperiority, and force of his genius, the ſolidity of his virtue, and the variety of his accompliſhments, eſpecially, if we conſider, he had to do with a democracy, very jealous, very ſeditious, and abounding in perſons of merit. Plutarch ſeems to point out

the cauſe, and gives us his character in a few words, when he ſays, that Pericles, like Fabius, made himſelf very uſeful to his country, by his mildneſs, his juſtice, and the reſolution and patience with which he bore the imprudent and unjuſt behaviour of his colleagues and fellow-citizens. His enemies, who during his life took offence at the exceſſive credit he had acquired, were obliged to own after his death, [e] that never man knew better how to temper authority with moderation, nor to exalt mildneſs and humanity with a majeſtic gravity than him; and his power, which had raiſed their envy againſt him, and was called by the odious name of tyranny, ſeemed then to have been the ſureſt defence and ſtrongeſt bulwark of the ſtate; ſo much wickedneſs and corruption crept afterwards into the government, which durſt not ſhew themſelves during his adminiſtration, but were ever kept under reſtraint, and never ſuffered to grow up to an exceſs without remedy, through licentiouſneſs and impunity.

Pericles, by the force of his eloquence, and the aſcendant he had gained over the minds of the people, ſeveral times diſconcerted the projects of a war, by which means he did a ſignal ſervice to his country, and would have ſaved it abundance of misfortunes, if he had continued the ſame conduct to the end. He had honeſt views in ruling, but would rule alone; and this led him into baniſhing the beſt ſubjects of the republic, and ſuch as were moſt capable of ſerving it, becauſe they were a counterbalance to his authority. And laſtly, being apprehenſive of the like treatment himſelf, and finding his credit daily decline, for his own ſecurity he kindled a war, which was attended with very fatal conſequences to his country.

The magnificent works, wherewith he adorned Athens, are highly extolled; but I fear not altogether juſtly. For was it reaſonable to employ [f] ſuch im-

[e] Ἀνωμόλογον τὸ μετριώτερον ἐν ὄγκῳ, καὶ σεμνότερον ἐν πραότητι, μὴ φύσαι τέρπον.

[f] They amounted to above ten millions.

menſe

menſe ſums, as were deſigned only for the ſupport of the war, in ſuperfluous buildings and vain decorations? And would it not have been better to have eaſed the allies of a part of their contributions, which under the government of Pericles were raiſed near one-third above what they were before?

Cimon alſo took care to adorn the city. But beſides that the money he laid out was part of the booty he had taken from the enemy, and was not the heart's-blood and ſubſtance of the people; the expence was very moderate, and confined either to ſuch works as were abſolutely neceſſary, as the port, the walls, and fortifications of the city; or of very great uſe to the citizens; ſuch as the porticoes and public walks; the places of exerciſe, as the academy, the uſual reſidence of the poets, and celebrated retreat of the philoſophers. This place he took a peculiar care to make more commodious and agreeable; and by this ſlight expence gave occaſion to thoſe learned diſcourſes, which were ſo deſerving of a free people, and derived ſo much honour to the city of Athens from all after-ages.

He had heaped up immenſe riches, but made ſuch an uſe of them as might make the Chriſtians aſhamed; giving largely to all the poor he met with, diſtributing clothes to ſuch as wanted them, and inviting the neceſſitous citizens of Athens to eat at his table. What compariſon is there, ſays Plutarch, between the table of Cimon, which was plain, frugal, popular, and at a ſmall expence fed every day a great number of citizens; and that of Lucullus, which was magnificently ſerved, and more worthy of a Perſian grandee than a citizen of Rome, being deſigned to gratify at a vaſt expence the ſenſuality of ſome profeſſed debauchees, whoſe only merit was a nice palate, and doubtleſs the art of highly commending the maſter of the houſe.

By his military expeditions Cimon was equal in glory to the moſt eminent commanders among the Greeks; for no body before him ever carried their arms and conqueſts ſo far, and to the bravery and

courage he had in common with the reſt, he added a prudence and moderation, which were of no leſs ſervice to his country.

His youth indeed was not unblameable; but the reſt of his life covered, and abundantly made amends for his former faults; and where can we find a virtue without blemiſh?

If ſuch a thing were poſſible among the heathens, it would be the virtue of Ariſtides. An extraordinary greatneſs of ſoul made him ſuperior to every paſſion. Intereſt, pleaſure, ambition, reſentment, jealouſy, were extinguiſhed in him by the love of virtue and his country. He was a man born for the republic. Provided that was well ſerved, he was unconcerned by whom it was done. The merit of others, inſtead of offending him, became his own by the approbation he gave it. He had a ſhare in all the great victories obtained by the Greeks in his time, without being at all the more haughty on that account. His inclination was not to rule in Athens, but to make Athens rule. And this he effected, not as we have already obſerved, by fitting out great fleets, and ſending vaſt armies into the field, but by rendering the government of the Athenians amiable to the allies by his mildneſs, goodneſs, humanity, and juſtice. The diſintereſtedneſs he ſhewed in the management of the public treaſure, and the love of poverty, which he carried, if I may venture to ſay, almoſt to an exceſs, are virtues ſo far ſuperior to the practice of our age, that they ſcarce ſeem credible to us. In a word, and we may hence judge of the real merit of Ariſtides, if Athens had always been governed by commanders like him, and had been content to enjoy the honour of being miſtreſs of Greece, and with preſerving the peace and happineſs of her neighbours, ſhe would have been at the ſame time the terror of her enemies, the delight of her allies, and the admiration of the whole world.

Themiſtocles made no ſcruple to uſe tricking and ſubtlety in compaſſing his deſigns, and was not always firm and conſtant in his undertakings. But for Ariſtides,

tides, his conduct and principles were always uniform, ſtedfaſt in the purſuit of whatever he thought juſt, and incapable of the leaſt falſhood or ſhadow of flattery, diſguiſe or fraud, no not in jeſt.

He had one maxim of the greateſt importance to all ſuch as would enter into public employments, who are too apt to rely upon their friends, and their intrigues. And this was, that every true citizen and man of probity ſhould place his whole credit in doing and adviſing upon all occaſions whatever was juſt and honeſt. He ſpoke thus, from obſerving that the great credit of their friends induced moſt perſons in office to abuſe their power, by committing unjuſt actions.

Nothing could be more admirable than the behaviour of Ariſtides before the battle of Marathon, or more different from our way of thinking and acting at preſent. The command of the army being divided between ten Athenian generals, who had each their particular day to preſide over the reſt, Ariſtides was the firſt to give up this command to Miltiades, as the perſon of the greateſt ability among them, and engaged his collegues to do the ſame, by repreſenting to them, that it was not ſhameful, but great and ſalutary, to ſubmit to ſuperior merit. And by thus uniting the whole authority in a ſingle chief, he enabled Miltiades to gain a great victory over the Perſians.

There is one quality very extraordinary, which belongs to all the four great men I have been ſpeaking of, and deſerves to be carefully taken notice of by a maſter, and to be pointed out to his ſcholars; and that is their facility in ſacrificing their own private reſentments to the good of the public. Their hatred had nothing implacable in it, no rancour, no fury, as among the Romans. The ſafety of the ſtate reconciles them without leaving any jealouſy or gall behind it; and far from ſecretly croſſing the deſigns of a former rival, every one concurs with zeal to the ſucceſs of his enterpriſes, and the advancement of his glory.

This quality, this characteriſtic, is one of the nobleſt, moſt difficult, and moſt ſuperior to human nature, that we meet with in hiſtory; and I may venture to ſay, the moſt neceſſary and important for perſons in high ſtations, in whom it is but too common to obſerve a narrowneſs of ſoul, which they are pleaſed to call great and noble, and puts them upon being captious, nice and jealous in point of command, incompatible with their collegues, ſolely attentive to their own glory, always ready to ſacrifice the public to their private intereſt, and ſuffering their rivals to commit faults, that they may turn them to their own advantage.

But, we ſhall ſee a quite different conduct in the perſons whoſe characters we are now examining.

Themiſtocles, not long before the battle of Salamis, finding the Athenians regretted Ariſtides, and were deſirous of his return, though he was the principal author of his baniſhment, made no ſcruple to recal him, by a decree in favour of all exiles, which allowed them to return and aſſiſt their country with their counſel, and defend it with their valour.

[g] Ariſtides, thus recalled, went ſome time after to find Themiſtocles in his tent, and gave him an important piece of advice, upon which the ſucceſs of the war, and the ſafety of Greece depended. His diſcourſe deſerved to have been engraved in letters of gold. "Themiſtocles, ſays he, if we are wiſe, we ſhall "henceforward lay aſide that vain and childiſh diſſen- "tion, which has hitherto ſet us at variance; and by "a more noble and uſeful emulation, ſtrive who ſhall "take the moſt pains in ſerving our country; you, "by commanding and doing the duty of a diſcreet "and good officer; and I, by obeying and aſſiſting "you with my perſon and advice." He then communicated to him what he judged neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture. Themiſtocles aſtoniſhed at his greatneſs of ſoul, and ſo noble a frankneſs of ſentiments, was aſhamed to be outdone by his rival; and freely owning it, promiſed from thenceforth to imi-

[g] Herod. lib. 8, Plut. in vit. Themiſt. & Ariſtid.

tate

tate his generous example, and if poſſible exceed it in his future conduct. Nor did all theſe profeſſions end in mere compliment, but were made good by conſtant effects: and Plutarch obſerves, that during the whole time Themiſtocles commanded, [*b*] Ariſtides aſſiſted him upon every occaſion with his advice and credit, joyfully taking pains to promote the glory of his greateſt enemy through the motive of advancing the public good. And when afterwards the diſgrace of Themiſtocles gave him a proper opportunity for revenge, [*i*] inſtead of reſenting the ill treatment he had received from him, he conſtantly refuſed to join with his enemies, as far from ſecretly rejoicing over the misfortune of his adverſary, as he had been before from being afflicted at his good ſucceſs.

Is there in hiſtory any thing more entirely grand and exalted than what we have now related? Or do we find any thing elſewhere which may juſtly be compared with this noble and generous behaviour of Ariſtides? [*k*] It is deſervedly admired as one of the moſt beautiful circumſtances in the life of Agricola, that he employed all his abilities and care to augment the glory of his generals; but here it was to advance that of the greateſt enemy. How far ſuperior in merit?

We have alſo in Cimon a great inſtance of the virtue I am deſcribing, who being actually baniſhed by oſtraciſm, came notwithſtanding to take his place in his tribe to fight againſt the Lacedæmonians, who till then had been conſtantly his friends, and with whom he ſtood charged of holding private intelligence. And when his enemies had obtained an order from the public council, to forbid his going to the battle, he withdrew, and conjured his friends to approve his innocence and their own by their actions. They took the

[*b*] Πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κοινῇ τοῖς τὸν ἔχθιστον. Plut. in vit. Ariſtid.

[*i*] Οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν . . . . ἀλλ' ἀπέλαυσεν ἔχθρᾳ δυσυχοῦντος, ὥσπερ ἐπ' εὐημεροῦντι πρότερον ἐφθόνησε. Ibid.

[*k*] Nec Agricola unquam in ſuam famam geſtis exultavit: ad auctorem & ducem, ut miniſter fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obſequendo, verecundia in prædicando, extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat. Tacit. in vit. Agric. cap. 8.

armour of Cimon, placed it in his poſt, and fought with ſo much valour, that the moſt part of them loſt their lives, leaving the Athenians under the utmoſt regret for their loſs, and ſeverely repenting the unjuſt accuſations they had thrown upon them.

The Athenians, upon the loſs of a conſiderable battle, recalled Cimon; and Pericles himſelf, as we have before obſerved, was the perſon who drew up and propoſed the decree, by which he was recalled, though he had before contributed more than any other to his baniſhment. Upon which Plutarch makes a beautiful reflection, that wholly confirms all that I have advanced upon this ſubject. Pericles, ſays he, uſed his whole intereſt to bring back his rival, "ſo "much were the quarrels of the citizens moderated "by the views of the public advantage, and their "animoſities always ready to be laid aſide as ſoon as "the good of the ſtate required it; and ſo much did "their ambition, which is the moſt lively and moſt "violent of paſſions, conform and give way to the ne-"ceſſities and intereſts of their country." Cimon upon his return, without complaining of his former ill uſage, or taking much upon him, and without ſeeking to prolong a war which made him neceſſary to his country, readily executed the ſervice expected from him, and immediately procured the peace it wanted.

But nothing more clearly diſcovers the inward ſentiments of Pericles, his good-nature and averſion to all hatred and revenge, than an expreſſion which fell from him a little before his death. His friends were ſitting round him as he lay ſick, and not thinking that he heard them, were talking amongſt themſelves in commendation of his government, and the nine trophies he had gained, when he interrupted them, and wondered, he ſaid, they ſhould dwell ſo much upon matters in which fortune had ſo great a ſhare, and were common to him with many other generals, and forget the greateſt and moſt beautiful circumſtance of his life,

life, that no Athenian had ever wore mourning on his account.

The ſeveral particulars I have here mentioned concerning the four great men, who were the ornaments of the Athenian republic, may in my opinion be very uſeful, not only to ſuch young perſons, as are deſtined to fill conſiderable places in the ſtate, but to people of all conditions whatſoever. For they let us ſee, how low and mean-ſpirited it is to be envious and jealous of the virtue and reputation of others; and on the other hand, how noble and generous to value, love, and commend the merit of our equals, collegues, competitors, and even enemies, if we have any. And theſe paſſages of hiſtory ſhould make the greater impreſſion upon us, as they are not the ſpeculative leſſons of philoſophers, but duties reduced to practice.

II. *Of* Ostracism.

Oſtraciſm was a ſentence among the Athenians, by which they condemned any one to a kind of baniſhment that was to laſt ten years, unleſs that term was leſſened by the people. The conſent of ſix thouſand citizens at leaſt was required for a condemnation of this kind. They gave their vote by writing the name of the perſon upon a ſhell, in Greek called ὄστρακον, from whence came the name of oſtraciſm. This kind of baniſhment was not inflicted as a puniſhment for any crime, nor conſidered as infamous; [*l*] the moſt illuſtrious citizens, and often men of the greateſt probity, were expoſed to it. I do not here take upon me to plead or apologize in behalf of oſtraciſm, which, as it may be conſidered under different views, may likewiſe occaſion very different judgments. As this law ſeemed only deſigned againſt virtue, and to be ſevere upon merit, 'tis no wonder, that in this view it ſhould appear extremely odious and offenſive to every rational man. This induced Valerius Maximus to charge this cuſtom as the folly and extrava-

[*l*] Miltiades, Cimon, Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, &c.

gance

gance of the public in punishing the greatest virtues as criminal, and repaying the services done to the state with banishment. [m] *Quid obest quin publica dementia sit existimanda, summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere?*

Without attempting therefore absolutely to justify ostracism, I shall enquire a little into the reasons of it, and examine the advantages that may arise from it. For I cannot imagine, that so wise a republic, as that of Athens, would have so long suffered and authorised a custom founded only upon injustice and violence. And what confirms me in this opinion is, that when this law was abrogated at Athens, it was not done because it was unjust; but because having taken place in the case of a citizen despised by all the world (he was named Hyperbolus, and lived in the time of Nicias and Alcibiades) [n] 'twas thought that ostracism, degraded by this example, would ever after be a dishonour to a man of probity, and injurious to his reputation.

[o] Thus we see, that Tully does not condemn this law with the same severity as Valerius Maximus; and that pleading against the banishment of Sextius, tho' it was his interest to decry all banishments, he contents himself with accusing the Athenians of lightness and temerity. Plutarch speaks of it in several places in a very favourable manner, at least without censure or reproach, as we shall see by and by. And this inclines me to believe that Valerius Maximus judged very superficially of this law, and was too easily prejudiced by some inconveniencies attending it, without considering thoroughly the advantages that might arise from it. We shall therefore now examine what those advantages might be.

[m] Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3.

[n] Ἐκ τότε δυσχεράνας ὁ δῆμος ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ ᾠδάγμα καὶ προπεπηλακισμένον, ἀφῆκε παντελῶς, καὶ κατέλυσεν. Plut. in Arist.

[o] Apud Athenienses, homines Græcos, longè à nostrorum hominum gravitate disjunctos, non derant qui rempublicam contra populi temeritatem defenderent, cum omnes, qui ita fecerant, è civitate expellerentur. Pro Sext. n. 141.

1. It

1. It was a very useful barrier against tyranny in a state purely democratical, where liberty, which is the soul and sovereign law of it, cannot subsist, but by equality. It was difficult for the people not to be suspicious of the power of such citizens as had raised themselves above the rest, [p] and whose ambition, so natural to mankind, gave a just alarm to a republic extremely jealous of its independency. It was proper to take measures at a distance for bringing them back into the sphere, from whence their great abilities or great services seemed to have removed them. [q] They had still in remembrance the tyranny of Pisistratus and his children, who had been only private citizens like the rest. They had Ephesus, Thebes, Corinth, Syracuse, and almost all the cities of Greece before their eyes, which were all brought under subjection to tyrants at a time, when the citizens were under no apprehensions of losing their liberty. And who could be sure, that Themistocles, Ephialtes, the elder Demosthenes, Alcibiades, and even Cimon and Pericles, would have refused to reign at Athens, if they had been capable of attempting it, as Pausanias and Lysander did at Lacedæmon, and so many others in their republic, and as Cæsar did at Rome?

2. This sort of banishment had nothing shameful or ignominious in it. It was not, says Plutarch, a punishment for crimes and misdemeanours, but a precaution judged necessary against a pride and power, which became formidable; it was a mild and gentle remedy against that envy, which is apt to form jealousies and suspicions of too great merit; and in a word, a certain means of setting the minds of the people at ease, without carrying them to any violence against the party banished. For he preserved the enjoyment and disposal of his estate; possessed all the rights and privileges of a citizen, with the hope of

[p] Τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς, καὶ πρὸς ἰσότητα δημοκρατικὴν ἀσύμμετρον. Plut. in vit. Themist.

[q] Athenienses, propter Pisistrati tyrannidem, quæ paucis annis ante fuerat, omnium civium suorum potentiam extimescebant. Corn. Nep. in Milt. cap. 8.

being

being reſtored within a fixed time, which might be abridged by abundance of incidents. So that the engagements which tied the baniſhed man to his country were not broken by the oſtraciſm; he was not driven to deſpair, nor forced upon extremities. Thus we ſee by the event, that neither Ariſtides, Cimon, or even Themiſtocles, or any of the reſt, entered into engagements againſt their country, but on the contrary always continued faithful and zealous for it. Whereas the Romans, for the want of ſuch a law, extorted imprecations from Camillus againſt his country, engaged Coriolanus to take up arms againſt it, as Sertorius did afterwards againſt his inclination. They came at laſt to declare a citizen an enemy to the ſtate, as in the caſe of Cæſar, Mark Anthony, and ſeveral others; after which there was no remedy but in deſpair, nor any aſſurance of their own preſervation but in violence and open war.

3. By this law the Athenians were alſo preſerved from the civil wars, which ſo much diſturbed and ſhook the commonwealth of Rome. With ſuch a law as this the Gracchi would not have been aſſaſſinated. The Romans might perhaps have ſpared themſelves the wars of Marius and Sylla, of Cæſar and Pompey, and the fatal conſequences of the triumvirate. But as Rome wanted this mild and humane remedy, [r] as Plutarch phraſes it, ſo proper to calm, ſoften, and aſſuage envy; whenever the two factions of the ſenate and people were a little inflamed, there was nothing left, but to decide the quarrrel by arms and violence. And this at laſt drew upon Rome the loſs of her liberty.

Perhaps therefore we may have good reaſon to differ in our judgment concerning this law from Valerius Maximus and ſome others, who were offended only at the abuſe of it, without fully examining into the real motives of its eſtabliſhment and its advantages, and without conſidering that there is no law ſo good, but it may have its inconveniencies in the application.

[r] Παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος φθόνε καὶ κουφισμός.

III. EMU-

III. EMULATION *in* ARTS *and* SCIENCES.

Diodorus Siculus, in the preface to the twelfth book of his hiſtory, makes a very judicious reflection upon the times and events I have now been ſpeaking of. He obſerves that Greece was never threatened with greater danger, than when Xerxes, after having ſubdued all the Aſiatic Greeks, brought againſt it ſuch a formidable army, as ſeemed to make the ſame fate an inevitable event. And yet it was never more glorious or triumphant than after the expedition of Xerxes, which, properly ſpeaking, was the epocha from whence to date the proſperity of Greece, and was in particular the occaſion and origin of that glory which made the name of Athens ſo famous. For the following fifty years produced in that city a multitude of men eminent in every kind of merit, in arts, ſciences, war, government and politics.

To confine myſelf here only to arts and ſciences, what carried them in ſo ſhort a time to ſo high a degree of perfection, was the rewards and diſtinctions beſtowed on ſuch as excelled in them, which kindled an incredible emulation amongſt the men of letters and excellent artiſts.

Cimon, returning from a glorious campaign, brought back with him to Athens the bones of Theſeus. To preſerve the memory of this event, the people propoſed a prize to be contended for by the tragic poets, which became very famous. Judges choſen by lot were to determine the merit of the performances, and adjudge the crown to the conqueror amidſt the commendations and applauſes of the whole aſſembly. But the archon obſerving there was great caballing and partiality among the ſpectators, nominated Cimon himſelf and nine other generals to be judges. Sophocles, who was then but young, preſented his firſt piece, and gained the prize from Æſchylus, who till then had been the honour of the theatre, and inconteſtably the beſt writer. He was unable to ſurvive his glory, left Athens, and retired into Sicily, where he ſoon after

died

died of grief. As to Sophocles, his reputation continually increaſed, and never left him, not even in his extreme old age. His children ſoliciting for a judgment againſt him, as being ſuperannuated, inſtead of a defence, he read before the judges a piece he had lately finiſhed, entitled *Oedipus Coloneus*, and unanimouſly gained his cauſe.

The glory of carrying the prize in theſe diſputes, where all ſorts of perſons took pains to produce ſomething extraordinary, was held ſo diſtinguiſhed an honour, as to become the object of the ambition of princes, as we learn from the hiſtory of the two Dionyſius's of Syracuſe.

[*s*] It was a glorious day and the moſt affecting delight to Herodotus, when all Greece aſſembled at the Olympic games declared, whilſt they heard him read his hiſtory, that they thought they heard the Muſes ſpeaking by his mouth; which occaſioned the nine books of his work being called by the name of the nine Muſes. And the caſe was the ſame with the orators and poets, who ſpoke their orations, and read their poems there in public. How great a ſpur to glory muſt the applauſes have been, which were received before the eyes and with the acclamations of almoſt all the people of Greece?

There was no leſs emulation amongſt the artiſans of merit; and this was the reaſon, that under Pericles all arts were carried in ſo ſhort a time to the higheſt degree of perfection.

[*t*] It was he that built the Odêon, or theatre of muſic, and made the decree, by which it was ordained, that the games and diſputes for prizes of muſic ſhould be celebrated on the feaſt of the Panathenæa; and being choſen the judge and diſtributer of the prizes, he thought it no diſhonour to regulate and aſſign the laws and conditions of this kind of diſputes.

[*u*] Who has not heard of the name of Phidias, and the fame of his works? This celebrated ſculptor, who

[*s*] Lucian. in Herodot. [*t*] Plut. in vit. Pericl. [*u*] Ibid.

was

was more ſenſible to glory than intereſt, ventured, notwithſtanding the extreme delicacy of the Athenians in this particular, to inſert his name, or at leaſt the reſemblance of his countenance, on a famous ſtatue; as judging he could have no better recompence for all his labour than to ſhare an immortality with it, whereof he had been the author and cauſe.

We know with what ardour the painters entered the liſt againſt one another, and how eagerly they diſputed for the prize. Their works were expoſed in public, and judges that were alike excellent and uncorruptible adjudged the victory to the moſt deſerving.

Parrhaſius and Zeuxis contended in this manner with each other. The latter had drawn grapes ſo exactly alike, that the birds came and pecked at them. The other had drawn a curtain. Zeuxis, proud of the mighty ſuffrage of the birds, with an inſulting air bid him draw aſide his curtain, and ſhew what he had done. [x] He ſoon found his miſtake, and yielded the palm to his rival, ingenuouſly confeſſing himſelf conquered, for he had only deceived the birds, whereas Parrhaſius had deceived him, as great a maſter as he was in the art.

What I have obſerved of the paſſion, excited by a ſingle man in Athens for arts and ſciences, may ſhew us of what ſervice emulation may be to a ſtate, when applied to things uſeful to the public, and reſtrained and kept within juſt bounds. How great an honour has Greece derived from the great artiſts and learned men ſhe produced in ſuch abundance, whoſe works, ſuperior to the injury of time and malignity of envy, are ſtill looked upon, and ever will be, as the rule of a good taſte and model of perfection? Honours and rewards annexed to merit, rouze and awaken induſtry, animate the ſoul, and raiſe mankind as it were from ſtupefaction and lethargy, and in a ſhort time fill a kingdom with illuſtrious perſons of every

[x] Intellecto errore, conceſſit palmam ingenuo pudore, quoniam ipſe volucres fefelliſſet, Parrhaſius autem ſe artificem. Plin. l. 35. c. 10.

kind.

kind. The late M. Colbert, miniſter of ſtate, ſet apart forty thouſand crowns a year, to be diſtributed among ſuch as excelled in any art or ſcience; and he often told [y] ſome that were admitted to an intimacy with him, upon whoſe intelligence and recommendation he relied in this particular, that if there was a man of merit in the kingdom that ſuffered, or was in want, it was to be charged upon their conſciences, who would be anſwerable for it. Such expences as theſe never ruin a ſtate; and a miniſter, who has a ſincere love for his prince and country, can ſcarce ſerve them better, than by procuring them ſuch ineſtimable advantages, and ſo laſting a glory, at ſo ſmall an expence. For as [z] Horace has ſaid upon another occaſion, when men of probity are under any neceſſity, friends may be purchaſed at a cheap rate;

Vilis amicorum eſt annona, bonis ubi quid deeſt.

[y] M. Perrault, & M. l'Abbe Gallois. [z] Hor. l. 1. ep. 12.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.